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RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS AT LUXOR TEMPLE — VOLUME 2

**THE FACADE, PORTALS, UPPER REGISTER SCENES, COLUMNS,
MARGINALIA, AND STATUARY IN THE COLONNADE HALL**

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS, COMMENTARY, AND GLOSSARY

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PLATES 129 — 227

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IN THE COLONNADE HALL**

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By
The Epigraphic Survey

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PREFACE

The previous publications of the Epigraphic Survey have been devoted to the formal reliefs of monuments or portions of monuments that were largely commissioned and completed during the reign of a single king: the temples of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak, the Bubastite Portal of Sheshonq I, the Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II, the Sety I battle reliefs, the Khonsu Temple reliefs of Ramesses IX and Herihor, and the tomb of Kheruef. To be sure, late textual additions are inevitable in most of the New Kingdom temples of the Theban region, such as bandeau texts of the later Ramesside kings or renewal inscriptions that were appended as late as the Ptolemaic period, but by and large the major reliefs of these temples, as they have been published in individual Survey volumes, were conceived and executed in a single program of decoration.

Even the first volume of the present series on Luxor Temple illustrates only the processional scenes of the Opet festival, located in the lowest register of the Colonnade Hall. These scenes, together with all the interior decoration of the hall, were doubtless drafted as a unified composition and for the most part executed in raised relief during the reign of Tutankhamun.¹ After the demise of the young king, the south portion of the hall remained adorned only with its painted cartoons until the accession of Sety I, who completed the carving of the walls and columns within roughly forty years of Tutankhamun's death. The Opet reliefs by themselves, therefore, give little indication of the long succession of rulers and even private individuals who took a hand in the decoration, recarving, and commemoration of the Colonnade Hall as a whole.

In contrast to these previous volumes, the present publication, which is devoted to the rest of the standing remains of the hall, is remarkably diverse in both content and chronology. It both reflects the architectural and textual alterations made to the central portion of Luxor Temple during the turbulent transition from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Dynasties and documents the numerous dedicatory texts, usurpations, and graffiti that were inscribed from the late New Kingdom onward.

The earliest reliefs now within the Colonnade Hall belong to Amenhotep III, founder of the temple in its present form, and were originally not part of the structure itself but were conceived purely as doorjamb scenes, carved on the entrance doorway leading into the sun court of Luxor Temple. The construction of the Colonnade Hall was undertaken only after the carving of this doorway and it was apparently completed by the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, who must have lived long enough to finish one scene in the hall, in draft form at least, on the west jamb of the north portal, showing the king making an offering to Amun and a leonine form of Mut (see pl. 149). This scene shows no evidence of recutting—that is, the extant relief is original—but the figure of Amun was carved over a series of deliberate chisel blows, some still filled with restorative plaster, that correspond to an original representation of the double-plumed deity attacked during the Amarna period. A painted draft for the scene, then, must have been visible on the doorjamb of the temple during the reign of Akhenaton and could only have been placed there by his father. In addition, the iconography of the regalia of Amenhotep III is typical of the final phase of his reign and suggests that when the scene was carved in raised relief for the first time in the post-Amarna period, the extant painted details were not altered but were carefully followed by the stonecutters to the extent possible.² The fact that this scene is the only one in the hall that displays such unusual restoration, combined with the distinctive royal iconography of the late reign of Amenhotep III, would suggest that other scenes containing figures of this king, located on the portals, columns, and interior registers of the hall, were laid out no earlier than the reign of Tutankhamun. It may be argued that the decoration of the Colonnade Hall represents either an original composition of the young ruler, who paid extraordinary honor to his forbear³ by including his figure in a number of scenes, or it is an adaptation of some decorative scheme devised by the earlier king, whose figure was intentionally retained in places by Tutankhamun.⁴ The posthumous appearance of Amenhotep III in the colonnade decoration may be taken as simply an homage to the de-

1. See the comments in *RILT* 1, p. xvii.

2. The scene is discussed in W. R. Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. L. Berman (Cleveland, 1990), pp. 29–32.

3. Views differ on whether Amenhotep III was the father or grandfather of Tutankhamun. On the parentage of Tutankhamun, see, inter alia, J. Ray, "The Parentage of Tutankhamun," *Antiquity* 49 (1979): 45–47; L. Bell, "La Parenté de Toutankhamoun," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 101 (1986): 47–49; E. F. Wente, "The Genealogy of the Royal Family," in *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, ed. E. F. Wente and J. Harris (Chicago, 1980), pp. 136–40; E. F. Wente and J. Harris, "Royal Mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty," in *After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes*, ed. C. N. Reeves (London, 1992), pp. 14–15; C. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil 2: De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1995), pp. 467–68.

4. For the former view, see E. F. Wente, review of *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*, by D. Redford, *JNES* 28 (1969): 278–79, in the context of considering the parentage of Tutankhamun. The latter view has been espoused by W. R. Johnson, "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep

ceased founder of the temple, or as a manifestation of a historical revisionism that was already in progress, pointedly aimed at the preceding Amarna period.

The hacking of the doorjamb scene on the north portal seems to be the sole contribution of Akhenaton to the Colonnade Hall,⁵ the interior decoration of which was subsequently taken in hand by Tutankhamun. In the course of his brief reign, the north three-fourths of the interior registers of the hall were carved, as well as the north ten columns and a portion of their architraves. Amenhotep III appears in the offering scenes on four of the columns in the hall—these appear in pairs,⁶ among similarly paired offering scenes of Tutankhamun—and he alternates with Tutankhamun in the scenes of the interior doorjambs of the north portal, thus sharing ritual duties with his eventual successor. Above the major registers of decoration and below the clerestory windows within the hall, Tutankhamun also commenced a colossal frieze consisting of his own cartouches alternating with the prenomen of Amenhotep III, beginning at the north end of the hall. It is possible that the painted doorjamb scene of Amenhotep III (pl. 149) was restored by Tutankhamun as well, partly due to its prominent position on the facade.⁷ The chisel blows were filled with plaster and the scene carved, except for the feet of Amun, which were probably inaccessible both to those who inflicted the damage and to those who later restored the scene, due to the proximity of a piece of statuary.⁸

It was his successor, Ay, who undertook the carving of the remainder of the facade of the hall in low raised relief and continued the honorific inclusion of the temple's founder, with figures of Amenhotep III alternating with his own on the exterior doorjambs of the entrance portal.⁹ Ay was content to leave the interior scenes of the colonnade unfinished, or he might have had the drafted outlines fully painted as a temporary decorative measure. Horemheb did not add any inscriptions or reliefs of his own but systematically usurped virtually all of the cartouches of the two post-Amarna kings both inside and out.¹⁰

It was left to Sety I to complete the carving of the interior scenes in the south portion of the hall, as well as that of the four southernmost columns. The six southernmost architraves were finished as well, in a variety of incised and sunk relief styles that stand in contrast to the more carefully executed raised relief of Tutankhamun on the northernmost two.¹¹ The dedicatory tenor of the architrave texts, which refer to the great monument of Sety I's "father," Amenhotep III, is clearly taken over wholesale from an earlier version of Tutankhamun's. Sety I did not otherwise perpetuate the earlier homage to Amenhotep III but carved the southernmost four columns in his name alone.¹² Similarly, he completed the colossal cartouche frieze located below the clerestory windows, employing a repeating pattern of his own nomen and prenomen.¹³ Noticeable lacunae in the carved relief of the south end of the colonnade doubtless reflect the presence of statuary already in position by the reign of Sety I, placed there by one or more of his predecessors.¹⁴

The next alteration in decor was caused by the construction of the first court of Luxor Temple by Ramesses II. The architraves of the south portico of the court were keyed into the facade of the Colonnade Hall on either side of the entrance portal, thereby destroying the

III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. D. P. Silverman, SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 133–44. For the composition of the Opet festival scenes as evidence of the artistic legacy of the Amarna period, see *RILT* 1, pp. xviii–xix, with n. 15. The further study and publication of the upper register fragments, projected for a future volume on Luxor Temple, may shed additional light on this question.

5. Damage caused by the Atonists is, of course, also evident on the jambs of the south doorway of the Colonnade Hall, shown on pls. 174–77, where the figures of Amun and names of Amenhotep III were attacked and then restored. As mentioned above, however, these are properly part of the original entrance to the sun court of Luxor Temple and only by happenstance came to be incorporated as part of the interior decoration of the colonnade.
6. On columns 3, 4, 9, and 10 (see pls. 182–83 and 188–89). The presence of Amenhotep III in the offering scenes is echoed in the decoration of the cartouche friezes of each of the pertinent columns (see pl. 178).
7. In view of the extensive decoration initiated by Tutankhamun within the Colonnade Hall, it would be strange indeed if the only scene attacked—and this one located on the lowest and most visible register of the facade—would have been allowed to remain for very long in a desecrated condition. For Tutankhamun's presumed hand in this restoration, see also the commentary for pl. 149, below.
8. The size of this uncarved area does not match the dimensions of the statues presently in situ in Luxor Temple. For further remarks, see the commentary for pl. 149, below.
9. Since this is the pattern found on the interior jambs as well, it is likely that Ay simply continued the decorative program instigated by Tutankhamun and already to hand, at least for the north portal.
10. There are a number of exceptions to the overall usurpation of Tutankhamun's cartouches by Horemheb. His rather prominent prenomen was allowed to remain on the enveloping shroud of the portable bark of Amun in the northernmost scene of the east Opet register (see *RILT* 1, pl. 110); for comments on the possibly intentional retention of predecessors' names on bark shrines and their shrouds, see *RILT* 1, p. 23, under the commentary for pl. 56. A small prenomen on the king's sporran in the offering scene of column 2 was entirely missed by the stonecutters of Horemheb's time and left intact (see pl. 226E). In two cases, the signs of Tutankhamun's sporran prenomen were erased for usurpation, but the name of Horemheb was mistakenly not added (see pl. 167, l. 19, and pl. 187, l. 31), doubtless because of the small scale of the cartouches. On column 9 the large-scale prenomen of Tutankhamun, and on column 10 his Horus name, *twt-msw.t*, were overlooked, perhaps due to the unexpected appearance of Tutankhamun's names in scenes otherwise devoted to Amenhotep III, whose royal titles were more prominent (pl. 188, l. 12, and pl. 189, l. 22). Another instance of Tutankhamun's Horus name was left intact since it was not overtly marked as part of his titulary (see *RILT* 1, pl. 20, l. 18). In the cartouche friezes on columns 2, 5, and 7, three prenomens of Tutankhamun were partially or entirely erased, with incomplete usurpation by Horemheb. Ankhesenamun was included in the overall usurpation, her name being surcharged by that of Mutnodjmet at least once (and doubtless everywhere), in the riverine scene of the Opet register on the east wall (see *RILT* 1, pl. 83).
11. For the variation in carving styles, see pls. 196–97. The two southernmost architraves of Sety I are no longer extant. Of the two northernmost of Tutankhamun, the east architrave has been lost, while a portion of the west architrave lies between columns 2 and 4 (see pl. 227B).
12. The bases of the southernmost four columns might have been inscribed by Sety I as well; see the commentary for pl. 195.
13. Johnson, "Honorific Figures," pp. 140–41.
14. For the original position of the colonnade sculptures and their subsequent movement within the hall, see the commentary after pls. 214–22, below.

existing registration completed by Ay. The expedient adopted by Ramesses II was to erase all the raised relief decoration below the roofline of the portico on both the east and west sides and to redraft the lower facade accordingly. A single large-scale offering scene was retained on each side, utilizing the original Eighteenth Dynasty figures of Amun and Mut more or less in situ, but the height of this scene was lowered slightly. Directly above were added a much lower register, consisting of smaller vignettes, and a frieze of cartouches with pendant uraei, tucked into the area corresponding to the new portico architraves. This fresh Ramesside carving was rendered entirely in sunk relief, but above the portico roof the original raised relief decoration of Ay was left intact, as usurped by Horemheb (see, for example, pls. 136 and 142). At the base of the new facade scenes Ramesses II smoothed away the Eighteenth Dynasty dado, adding a wide horizontal marginal text and a new dado of his own just below it.¹⁵ Nor were other portions of the Colonnade Hall neglected. At the entrance portal of the hall, Ramesses II decorated the colossal doorleaf insets with three registers of offering scenes and added vertical bands of inscriptions to the antae on either side;¹⁶ and on each of the columns horizontal text bands were added below the offering scenes.¹⁷ Ramesses II is also the king responsible for the most recent inscriptions legible on the three statues now in situ in the colonnade, and presumably the orientation of those texts must reflect their location in the hall during his reign.¹⁸

On the facade of the Colonnade Hall, Merneptah inscribed marginal bands below those of his father, thus obliterating the dados of Ramesses II, while on the interior of the hall directly underneath the Opet registers he erased the Eighteenth Dynasty dados and added long marginal texts over them, oriented from north to south. Above the great offering scenes on each of the columns Merneptah inscribed his own horizontal text bands, somewhat larger in scale than those of Ramesses II, and traces of his titulary have been identified on several column bases as well.¹⁹ In addition, he added his nomen and prenomen in alternating sequence between the tips of the overlapping papyrus calyxes at the base of each column. Apparently at this juncture the north portal itself was drastically altered by the cladding of the great doorleaf insets with new stone slabs set with mortar, filling the insets entirely and transforming the doorway into a passageway. The new stone sheathing was carved with sunk relief offering scenes virtually identical in scale and composition to those of Ramesses II, which they now concealed (see pl. 224A). In conjunction with this alteration, a smaller subsidiary gateway was constructed at the north side of the portal, where doorleaves could have more easily closed off access from the Ramesside court to the colonnade.²⁰

Of the kings of the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Sety II is the only one whose hand is attested in the Colonnade Hall. It was probably he who systematically erased the marginal inscriptions of Merneptah both here and throughout Luxor Temple, although he did not succeed in reinscribing these texts in the colonnade itself.²¹ Sety II's cartouches appear everywhere in the thicknesses of the north portal and on its subsidiary Ramesside gateway, deeply surcharged over those of the original ruler, of which not a trace now remains. Sety II also usurped the column bands of Merneptah, whose name can still be read in several places,²² as well as his smaller cartouches placed between the calyxes of the column decoration.

Ramesses III added his own titulary in several places around the entrance to the Colonnade Hall, on the base of column 2 (and, by inference, on the now badly damaged base of column 1 as well) just below the base inscriptions of Merneptah, and in a horizontal marginal band in the thicknesses of the north portal, below the offering scenes of Sety II.²³ His successor, Ramesses IV, carved his own deeply incised marginal bands below the Opet reliefs, directly on the previously erased text of Merneptah. These bandeau texts span the full length of the Colonnade Hall but commence at the south end and are thus oriented in the opposite direction to those of Merneptah. For good measure Ramesses IV added a frieze of vertical cartouches directly below (see the detail on pl. 224B). He also reinscribed column bases 3 through 14 in his own name, surcharging those of Merneptah and Sety I, and added a short marginal band in the thickness of the north portal, below that of Ramesses III.²⁴

The first post-Ramesside addition to the Colonnade Hall is a dedicatory tableau engraved over the erased marginal text of Merneptah on the east side of the facade by Pinudjem I, high priest of Amun. Higher up on the same wall, just behind the figure of Amun in the first register, Sheshonq (probably later installed as Sheshonq II, coregent with his father, Osorkon I), high priest of Amun, incised a short text in honor of a priestess of his official household. Other minor graffiti in this area are not strictly datable, but it can be suggested that most belong to the Third Intermediate Period on the basis of style or by virtue of their close physical proximity to those of Pinudjem and Sheshonq (see pls. 199–204).

15. For a fuller description of these alterations, see the commentary for pl. 131.

16. Although this work might have been undertaken as a result of the changed function of the north portal—no longer the main entrance to Luxor Temple but now only the point of egress from the first court into the Colonnade Hall—definite pronouncements concerning the chronology and purpose of the structural alterations undertaken in the north portal must await the completion of the architectural study.

17. For a summary of the Ramesside additions to the columns, see the commentary for pl. 178.

18. For a stylistic treatment of the statuary, their original placement, and restoration in both ancient and modern times, see the commentary for pls. 214–22.

19. For the possibility that Merneptah decorated a good portion of the column bases (on the ten northernmost columns, those not previously inscribed for Sety I), see the commentary for pl. 195.

20. For the reconstruction of the new doorway scenes, see the key plans figs. 2 and 3. Although the name of the king who originally dedicated these scenes is nowhere legible under the usurpations of Sety II, for observations that support the probable agency of Merneptah in the extensive alterations to the north portal of the hall, see the commentary for pls. 143A and 156.

21. See the commentary for pl. 156.

22. See the commentary for pl. 172.

23. For this problematic area, see the commentary for pl. 143D.

24. See the commentary for pl. 195.

During the rule of the Lagide dynasty, the Ramesside gateway of the north portal was rebuilt in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus, presumably due to a conflagration that destroyed the extant doorleaves, necessitating the replacement of some of the stone in the portal thicknesses as well;²⁵ blocks from the earlier gateway were reused in the Macedonian structure (see pls. 153A and 154). The south doorway, which leads into the great sun court of Luxor Temple, was partially recarved in the Ptolemaic period, perhaps due to damage to the east jamb (see pl. 225A), and a subsidiary gateway was probably added immediately to the north of this doorway at the same time (see pl. 225D–E).²⁶ Also during the Ptolemaic dynasty a large graffito of Khonsu the child was added to the east facade of the hall (see pls. 201–02). Other graffiti added at this time include the sandal inscriptions preserved on several roofing blocks (see pls. 211–12). At some point between the sixth and third centuries B.C., the roof of the Ramesside portico became a popular location for the inscription of Greek and Carian graffiti, all situated within easy reach of the roofline on both the east and west sides of the facade, doubtless carved by mercenaries stationed in Luxor.²⁷

Coptic graffiti are scattered at various locations in the hall. Several were added in various locations over the reliefs of the Opet procession (pl. 210, Gr. 54–59), notably at the south end of the east wall, an area that might have been adapted to serve a particular religious function. Coptic crosses also appear fairly high on the facade and in the thickness of the north portal, where stairways and subsidiary buildings might have given access to upper levels of the monument (see pl. 148 and pl. 208, Gr. 38, 43–44). Other alterations of the reliefs are witness to much later intervention, long after the hall was abandoned and partially dismantled; the scenes of the upper registers exhibit attacks against the faces and limbs of the major figures, as well as intentional defacement of bird hieroglyphs, and decorative scratches were added to some of the ancient scenes.²⁸ For illuminating comments on the Greek graffiti, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the kind assistance of Professor James Keenan of Loyola University. Likewise, Professor Vitaly Shevoroshkin of the University of Michigan and Professor Olivier Masson of the Université de Paris X-Nanterre and the École Pratiques des Hautes-Études generously provided insights on the Carian inscriptions, which are rendered here without translation.

The reconstruction of the facade of the Colonnade Hall as it originally appeared depends largely on three sources of information: the Eighteenth Dynasty reliefs located above the Ramesside roofline on the east side of the facade; the Eighteenth Dynasty traces that are still visible in the scenes recarved by Ramesses II below the roofline; and block fragments originally from the facade, recovered from recent excavations, and identified in the blockyards of Luxor Temple. This volume, therefore, in addition to scenes in situ, includes all known block fragments that by scale and by style of carving can be identified as part of the colonnade facade. The reconstruction of the decorative layout (key plans fig. 1) is not fixed in all aspects, particularly in the overall height of the facade (the height shown is the minimum) and in the size and proportions of the cornices above the north portal and above the roofline. Due to the dearth of architectural and decorative evidence, the interrelationship of the uppermost facade scenes of the third register and the smaller decorative space above the cornice of the north portal is also uncertain. Plates 130 and 138A, showing the facade of the hall with the Eighteenth Dynasty traces inked in, are photographic mosaics of drawing enlargements that were scanned, joined together, and enhanced by Bruce Barrett.

The publication of this volume does not complete the Survey's involvement with the Colonnade Hall. A comprehensive architectural study of the monument is planned for a future volume of *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, to appear together with a reconstruction of the upper register scenes of the interior walls. It is expected that the final study of the displaced block fragments from the upper portions of the hall will shed additional light on its architecture as well as the overall decorative scheme, and it is hoped that the architectural study and examination of the post-ancient visitors' graffiti will advance our understanding of the later use of the hall after its abandonment, first as a local stone quarry, and then as part of the medieval and modern town of Luxor.

At an early date in the Epigraphic Survey's documentation of the Colonnade Hall, it was decided to omit those portions of the monument that were decorated by Ramesses II—except where it is absolutely necessary to the context of the earlier and later scenes²⁹—since these are part of the Theban concession of the Centre d'étude et de documentation sur l'ancienne Égypte. Therefore, this volume does not contain complete documentation for the Ramesside scenes of the facade, nor of the doorleaf recesses of the north portal. As in *RILT* 1, a number of valuable additions to the artists' drawings were made on the basis of the Koch photographs in the archives of the Universität Leipzig, and it is a great pleasure to acknowledge once again the kindness of Professor Elke Blumenthal in granting permission to reproduce several of the Koch photographs in this publication.

Because the drawings for this volume were completed over a long period of time, there is a noticeably greater variation in the conventions used for line weight and damage than in *RILT* 1, despite efforts to standardize them as much as possible. Furthermore, due to the technical problems associated with the pronounced curvature and slight tapering of the colossal columns of the Colonnade Hall, the drawings of the great offering scenes cannot be considered true facsimiles in the Chicago House tradition, but only corrected hand copies; the

25. The extent of new stonework can be seen on pls. 155–58.

26. For the possible relevance of these Ptolemaic repairs and additions to the question of the original position of the colonnade statuary, see the commentary after pls. 214–22, below.

27. See pls. 206–07. The date of these inscriptions can only be approximated; the other known Carian graffiti from Thebes are in the tomb of Montuemhat, fourth prophet of Amun, which seems to suggest a date somewhat removed from the completion of that mortuary complex in the seventh century B.C.

28. See, for example, the crude graffito of a fox visible on the arm of the king on pl. 164 (doorjamb), or the crisscross marks scratched into the flail of Amun on pl. 170.

29. As in the reconstructions on pls. 131 and 138, and the schematic drawings of the columns, pls. 178 and 179.

scale noted for each (1:12) is only approximate. The same must be said of the column bases, which have been schematized to a slight degree, as well as the architrave inscriptions, which should be characterized only as measured drawings.³⁰

Conservation efforts have played a not inconsiderable part in the preparation of the documentation published in this series on Luxor Temple. Several of the block fragments that appear in *RILT* 1 and 2 were among those included in a program of stabilization and desalinization undertaken in four seasons from 1981 to 1985, under the supervision of Richard and Helena Jaeschke, and in two additional seasons from 1986 to 1988, under the guidance of John Stewart. In 1995 the Epigraphic Survey was fortunate to receive a generous grant, from funds made available by the United States Agency for International Development and administered by the Egyptian Antiquities Project of the American Research Center in Egypt, for the purpose of continuing these important conservation activities over the course of five years and of providing long-term storage for the most fragile block fragments. This new initiative was supervised by John Stewart and managed on-site by Hiroko Kariya; most of these fragments will receive publication in the next volume of the *RILT* series, when the decoration of the now-missing uppermost registers of the Colonnade Hall is reconstructed.

As this manuscript was being assembled, several sizable limestone statue fragments in the Cairo Museum were recognized as pieces that belong to the faces of the goddess Mut on the two dyads in the hall, which stand just inside the north portal.³¹ The initial photodocumentation of these fragments was undertaken by our colleague Dr. Hourig Sourouzian, who most generously shared her research with us, and the positive identification of the pieces was made and confirmed by W. Raymond Johnson on the basis of stylistic and physical characteristics. These facial fragments added significantly to the documentation and analysis of the colonnade statues both individually and as a group, and it was also realized that restoration of the fragments in situ would enhance the appearance of the dyads considerably. The Survey is deeply indebted to several of our Egyptian colleagues who realized the import of this unexpected discovery and who made an initial restoration of the large dyad in the Colonnade Hall possible in time for the publication of this volume: Prof. Abd el-Halim Nur ed-Din, then-Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Antiquities, who approved the transfer of the large dyad fragment to Luxor; Dr. Mohammed Saleh, Director of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, who offered the facilities for photography, authorized a cast of the large Mut face, and arranged for the transportation of the fragment to Luxor; and Dr. Mohammed el-Saghir, Supervisor of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, who provided all necessary arrangements at Luxor Temple for the physical joining of the Mut face to the large dyad. The task of cleaning the large dyad and joining the face of Mut to its statue was entrusted to Dr. Ellen Pearlstein of the Brooklyn Museum, with the guidance of W. Raymond Johnson. She completed initial conservation work in January 1997, assisted by conservators Hiroko Kariya and Dany Roy; Dr. François Larché, Director of the Centre franco-égyptien pour l'étude des temples de Karnak, and the Orascom Engineering Company also offered crucial material support for the joining operation. For comparative purposes, new photography was also made of the Amun and Mut dyad discovered in 1989 in the Luxor cachette, thanks to the generosity and hospitality of Dr. Madeleine Bessada, Director of the Luxor Museum.³²

The prolonged history of the documentation of the Colonnade Hall is already outlined in *RILT* 1 and needs no further elaboration, but it is a pleasure to mention the names of a number of staff members who have made general contributions to the efforts of the Epigraphic Survey during the documentation of the colonnade reliefs presented in this volume:

<i>Epigraphers</i>	Ellen Pearlstein, 1997–	- Peter A. Piccione, 1989–91
Lorelei Corcoran, 1986–87	Dany Roy, 1996–	James Riley, 1991–93
Stephen Parker, 1987–88	John Stewart, 1986–88, 1995–	Ahmed Harfoush, 1995–
Stephen Shubert, 1982–85		
Edward James Walker, 1986–87		
<i>Artists:</i>	<i>Art Historian:</i>	<i>Archival Assistants:</i>
Clare Semple, 1974–75	Edna Russmann, 1994–95	Diana Grodzins, 1987–88, 1989–90
Anna Turner, 1979–80	<i>Librarians:</i>	Elinor Smith, 1989–
Linda Cohn-Kobylecky, 1995–	Martha R. Bell,† 1981–89	Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, 1983–84
	Andree Bichara, 1974–76	Crennan Ray, 1992–
<i>Photographers:</i>	Mindy Parker, 1987–88	
Robert Cedarwall, 1985–86	Elizabeth Piccione, 1980–81	<i>Assistant for Development:</i>
Michael Langenstein, 1978–79	May Trad, 1976–79, 1980–81	Jill Carlotta Maher, 1984–
<i>Conservators:</i>	<i>House and Office Administrators:</i>	<i>Resident Egyptologists:</i>
Christel Faltemeier, 1988–89	Paul Bartko, 1991–95	Labib Habachi,† 1977–84
Helena Jaeschke, 1981–84	Martha R. Bell,† 1977–81	Henri Riad, 1985–
Richard Jaeschke, 1981–85	Kathryn Dorman, 1989–94	
Hiroko Kariya, 1996–	Roxanne Gordon,† 1987–89	<i>Engineers:</i>
Rudolf Meyer, 1988–89	Rita Joyce, 1987–89	Hagg Ibrahim,† up until 1978
	Christian Loeben, 1985–87	Saleh Shehat Suleiman, 1978–

30. The drawing conventions utilized for the architraves and marginal texts are somewhat different from those employed for the main reliefs; see the commentary for pls. 196 and 172, respectively.

31. For the statues, see pls. 214–21.

32. For an account of the identification and joining of the statue fragments, see W. R. Johnson, "A Luxor Face Lift," *Egyptian Archaeology* 11 (1997): 19–22.

The Survey's documentation of Luxor Temple would have been impossible without the cordial and supportive sponsorship and assistance of a great many Egyptian colleagues, whose cooperation and friendship have proved an invaluable boon during our many seasons of research in the Colonnade Hall. These colleagues include those who served as Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization and later as Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Antiquities during the years of the project, Dr. Shehata Adam, Dr. Ahmed Kadry,† Dr. Sayid Tawfik,† Dr. Mohammed Bakr, Dr. Abd El-Halim Nur Ed-Din, and Dr. Ali Hassan; Dr. Mohammed el-Saghir, Supervisor of Pharaonic Antiquities for Upper Egypt; and Dr. Sayed Abd el-Hamid, Dr. Sayed el-Hegazy, and Dr. Abd el-Hamid Marouf, Chief Inspectors for Karnak and Luxor. To them, and to many others who are too numerous to mention, we express grateful appreciation.

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The translations and commentary to this volume are fundamentally the work of John Coleman Darnell, augmented by additions contributed by W. Raymond Johnson, Deborah Darnell, Richard Jasnow, and the undersigned; Andrew Baumann assisted in proofing the manuscript and glossary. For assistance in bringing the volume to press, we are most grateful for the invaluable cooperation and advice of the Publications Office of the Oriental Institute, in particular Dr. Thomas A. Holland and Mr. Thomas G. Urban.

PETER F. DORMAN

CHICAGO HOUSE, LUXOR

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHIC

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden, 1960–
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Bamberg and Wiesbaden, 1979–
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen. Glückstadt, 1936–1973
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> . Cairo, 1900–
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London, 1893–
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica. Basel and Geneva, 1974–
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Berlin and Mainz, 1970–
<i>Battle Reliefs</i>	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 4: The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I</i> . OIP 107. Chicago, 1986
<i>Beit el-Wali</i>	H. Ricke, G. R. Hughes, and E. F. Wente, <i>The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II</i> . OINE 1. Chicago, 1967
Brunner, <i>Die südlichen Räume</i>	H. Brunner, <i>Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor</i> . AV 18. Mainz, 1977
BdE	Bibliothèque d'étude. Cairo, 1908–
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> . New York, 1979–
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> . Cairo, 1901–
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie, Genève</i> . Geneva, 1979–
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société français d'égyptologie</i> . Paris, 1949–
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Brussels, 1925–
CRIPeL	<i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille</i> . Lille, 1973–
DE	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> . Oxford, 1985–
<i>Demot. Nb.</i>	Erich Lüddeckens et al., <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, 1980–
EES	Egypt Exploration Society, London
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> . Göttingen, 1972–
Grimal, <i>Termes de propagande</i>	N. Grimal, <i>Les Termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XIX^e Dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre</i> . Paris, 1986
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge. Hildesheim, 1976–
Helck, <i>Übers.</i>	W. Helck, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17–22</i> . Berlin, 1961
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> . Boston and Princeton, 1962–
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London, 1914–
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago, 1942–
<i>Khonsu 1</i>	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>The Temple of Khonsu 1: Scenes of King Herihor in the Court</i> . OIP 100. Chicago, 1979
<i>Khonsu 2</i>	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>The Temple of Khonsu 2: Scenes of Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall</i> . OIP 103. Chicago, 1981
KRI	K. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> 1–7. Oxford, 1969–
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf (eds.). <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> 1–7. Wiesbaden, 1975–1992
MÄS	Münchner ägyptologische Studien. Berlin, 1962–
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> . Cairo, 1930–

xxvi	THE FACADE, PORTALS, UPPER REGISTER SCENES, COLUMNS, MARGINALIA, AND STATUARY IN THE COLONNADE HALL
MH 2	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 2: Later Historical Records of Ramses III</i> . OIP 9. Chicago, 1932
MH 3	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 3: The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III</i> . OIP 23. Chicago, 1934
MH 4	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 4: Festival Scenes of Ramses III</i> . OIP 51. Chicago, 1940
MH 5	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 5: The Temple Proper 1: The Portico, the Treasury, and Chapels Adjoining the First Hypostyle Hall, with Marginal Material from the Forecourts</i> . OIP 83. Chicago, 1957
MH 6	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 6: The Temple Proper 2: The Re Chapel, the Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall</i> . OIP 84. Chicago, 1963
MH 7	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 7: The Temple Proper 3: The Third Hypostyle Hall and All Rooms Accessible from It with Friezes of Scenes from the Roof Terraces and Exterior Walls of the Temple</i> . OIP 93. Chicago, 1964
MH 8	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Medinet Habu 8: The Eastern High Gate with Translations of Texts</i> . OIP 94. Chicago, 1970
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cairo, 1902–
MMAEE	Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. New York, 1916–
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française. Paris, 1884–
Nelson, <i>Hypostyle Hall</i>	H. H. Nelson (ed. W. J. Murnane), <i>The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak 1/1: The Wall Reliefs</i> . OIP 106. Chicago, 1981
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg and Göttingen, 1973–
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications. Chicago, 1922–
OINE	Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition. Chicago, 1967–
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago, 1924–
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta. Leuven, 1975–
PM	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss (Jaromír Málek, ed.). <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> 1–7. Oxford, 1927–1981
PM II ²	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> 2: <i>Theban Temples</i> . Oxford, 1972 (2nd ed.)
Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i>	H. Ranke, <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> 1–3. Glückstadt, 1935–1977
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire. Cairo, 1930–
RdE	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i> . Paris and Cairo, 1933–
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux</i> . Paris, 1879–1923
RIK 1	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 1: Ramses III's Temple Within the Great Inclosure of Amon 1</i> . OIP 25. Chicago, 1936
RILT 1	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall</i> . OIP 112. Chicago, 1994
RILT 2	The Epigraphic Survey, <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 2: The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall</i> . OIP 116. Chicago, 1998
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> . Hamburg, 1974–
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. Chicago, 1931–
SEC	Studies in Egyptian Culture. Tokyo, 1985–
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto
Urk. 4	G. Steindorff (ed.), <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> 4: <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> 1–16 (ed. K. Sethe), 17–22 (ed. W. Helck). Leipzig and Berlin, 1906–58
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> 1–7, and <i>Belegstellen</i> 1–5. Leipzig, 1926–51
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies. New Haven, 1986–
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> . Leipzig and Berlin, 1863–

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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GENERAL

A.H.	anno Hegirae
col(s).	column(s)
cont.	continued
ed(s).	edited by, edition, editor(s)
fig(s).	figure(s)
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gr.	graffito/graffiti
inscr.	inscription
l(l).	line(s)
n(n).	note(s)
n.s.	new series
no(s).	number(s)
p(p).	page(s)
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl(s).	plate(s)

TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXTS AND COMMENTARY

PLATE 131. TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION IN CONTEXT ON THE FACADE, EAST WALL, FIRST REGISTER

The lower facade of the Colonnade Hall—that is, the area located below the roofline of the Ramesside portico on both the east and west sides—is an area that reveals two major stages of carving and layout, the first undertaken during the late Eighteenth Dynasty and the second during the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The Ramesside revision was necessitated by the addition of the first court of Luxor Temple directly in front of the colonnade during the early reign of Ramesses II. The original facade scenes of the Eighteenth Dynasty were arranged in three large registers, executed in raised relief by Ay (see the key plans fig. 1). During the construction of the first court, the architraves and roofing blocks of the south portico were keyed into the facade, thereby destroying the original second register scenes. The solution adopted by the Ramesside builders was to smooth away most of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration underneath the portico roof and replace it with new scenes of Ramesses II, rendered in sunk relief and arranged in markedly different registration. Although the original first register scenes have largely vanished from view, a number of trace lines are still visible beneath the later figures and their associated inscriptions. In this drawing, the basic elements of the Ramesside decoration (the major figures and the *p.t*-sign) appear in outline, to provide a context for the traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration that are still visible around them. For the suggested restoration of the scene, see pl. 132, below.

Within the Ramesside outlines of the heads of Amun and Mut, a number of elements of the faces and of Mut's headdress are given full sun and shadow weight. These few elements are located on portions of stone that are significantly higher than the background surface of the sunk relief Ramesside figures. Where these lines continue on lower levels within the deep sunk relief at the perimeter of the figures, transition points are noticeable, at which the higher and lower lines have been skillfully joined, such as on the internal strands of Mut's wig. Although the faces of the two deities seem to have been incorporated into the final scene without much alteration, the stonecutters of Ramesses II recarved the rest of their bodies and crowns in sunk relief, and with more attenuated proportions. It is therefore probable that the heads of Amun and Mut represent the only portions of the original Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of the facade left intact, and for that reason they are indicated here in fully weighted lines.

During the recarving of the facade the figures of Amun and Mut were retained in their original positions, but the left half of

the first register was entirely reorganized, doubtless due to the destruction of the original second register, which had been devoted to the third member of the Theban triad, Khonsu (see the key plans fig. 1 and pls. 136 and 142). In order to maintain the triad intact, the Ramesside draftsmen inserted Khonsu into the first register, standing behind the king. It is also noteworthy that the Ramesside registration does not coincide with that of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The sunk relief version of the first register is lower than the original raised relief scene, and the remaining space below the roofline is filled with several smaller tableaux: Ramesses II before the *īšd*-tree, Ramesses II offering incense and pouring a libation, and a frieze of cartouches with pendant cobras that corresponds to the height of the architraves (see pl. 130). In the area of the original Eighteenth Dynasty dado beneath the first register, Ramesses II inscribed a horizontal marginal text, placing his own dado of three sunk-relief bands just below.

This compositional revision was imitated on the west facade of the Colonnade Hall as well, and it provides important clues to the positioning of additional block fragments belonging to that wall (see pl. 142). Above the Ramesside roofline, it was apparently not felt necessary to recarve the sadly truncated scenes, which were largely invisible from ground level. There, the raised relief decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty was allowed to remain intact, as it had been usurped by Horemheb.

PLATE 132. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

The scene has been reconstructed on the basis of the raised relief traces documented on pl. 131. A preliminary version of this scene, to which a number of changes have been made, appeared in W. R. Johnson, "Le Décor de la façade," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 101 (1986): 46; the present drawing appeared in P. F. Dorman, "The Epigraphic Survey," in *The Oriental Institute 1994/95 Annual Report*, ed. W. M. Sumner (Chicago, 1995), p. 36, fig. 4.

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[Thurifying and pouring a li]b[atio]n^a [to his father Amun, that he may make "given life."]^b

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN

2-4[Amun-Re ...] 5-10[Words spoken ...]^c 11["(I) have given to you ... like] Re [forever.]"]

BEHIND AMUN

¹²[The protection of] all [life ... surrounds him like Re.]^d

ABOVE AND BEFORE MUT

¹³[Words] spoken by [Mut the great,] lady [of heaven, lady of Asheru, mistress] [of the ¹⁴go]ds, to [her son, lord of the two lands, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre:]^e “(I) have im]bued

¹⁵[your li]mb[s] with^f ^{16–17}[...] ¹⁸[(I) have given to you ...]”^h

BEHIND MUT

¹⁹[The protection of all] life and dominion [and all health surrounds her] like Re forever.

BEFORE THE VULTURE

²⁰[Nekhbet, the bright one of Hierakonpolis ...]ⁱ

ABOVE THE KING

²¹[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,] ²²[son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Mer]en[amun],^j ²³[given life like Re,] ²⁴[...] ²⁵[... he] rejoicing [together with] his [ka like] Re^k ²⁶[...] forever ²⁷[...].

BEHIND THE KING

²⁸[The protection of all life,] stability, and do[minion surrounds him like Re forever.]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe traces appear to be of the middle right side of the *qbh*-vessel and the final water sign of the triple water-sign determinative.

^bThe restoration is conjectural but exactly fills the available space between the bottom of the protruding kilt and the top of the king's foot.

^cThe three lines above the plumes of Amun probably contained his name and epithets, with his speech filling the six lines to the left of this and continuing in l. 11, in front of the figure of the deity. A “decorative” *dd mdw*, as preserved in l. 10, most likely occupied the top of each column containing the speech of Amun.

^dBehind the god's head is the *nb*-basket of an annotation such as [*s3* *nh* *dd w3s* *h3f*] *nb* [*mi* *R*]. The end of the formula (*mi* *R*) might have filled the space behind the leg of the god.

^eTentatively restoring: ¹³*dd* [*mdw*] in [*Mw.t wr.t*] *n* [*b.t p.t nb.t i3rw hnw.t*] ¹⁴[*nt*] *r.w n* [*s3.s nb t3.wy Dsr-hpr.w-R* *Stp.n-R*]. Alternatively, if Mut's epithets were restricted to *wr.t nb.t p.t*, and a vocative beginning Mut's address occupied the lower portion of l. 13, the vertical traces above the *n* in l. 14 could be the remnants of a *ms*-sign, and one might then read [*m*] *s.n* [(*i*) *tw r i3r.t n i3b.i3hrr.t* (*i*)]; compare *RILT* 1, pl. 59, ll. 6–7; and below, pl. 136, l. 3. For the restoration of Horemheb's name, see n. j, below.

^fReading [*hn*] *m* (*i*) [*h*] [*w.k*] *m* [...]. The traces at the top of l. 15 appear to be those of an arm; the space above is sufficient

to accommodate the twisted flax. For Mut imbuing the king with an attribute, see *RILT* 1, pl. 82, l. 14. For *hnm h* *w m*, see *Urk.* 4, 612/3 and 620/11; *MH* 2, pl. 106, l. 27; and Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 149, l. 9 (partially preserved examples on pls. 52, ll. 12–14; 106, l. 13; 109, l. 2; 111, l. 8). For the goddess fashioning the limbs of the king, see pl. 149, ll. 9–10, and the references cited there.

^gThe trace below *dd mdw* at the top of l. 16, which slants very slightly down to the left, suggests a reed-leaf.

^hThe existence of this line is suggested by the presence of the traces of a *d3.n* (*i*) *n.k* formula in front of the goddess on the corresponding scene on the west wall (see pl. 139, below).

ⁱThe name and epithets of the goddess Nekhbet would have occupied l. 20, to the right of her outstretched wing. Assuming that the names and epithets of the king occupied all of the space below the wing, as on pl. 134, there would be no room for a descriptive statement such as *d3.s* *nh* *dd w3s*. For *h3t* as “bright one,” see pl. 156, n. b, below.

^jOn the basis of pl. 134, it is probable that the cartouches of the king were located as shown in this reconstruction, with at least three lines of text following. The surviving traces of the *n* of the nomen, extending close to the right side of the cartouche (of which a bit survives), support this reconstruction, as a water-*n* in this position would not suit the prenomen of Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun, Ay, or Horemheb. The length of the *n* prohibits a reading of the sign as an element in the divine name Amun, suggesting a writing of the name of Horemheb as it appears on pls. 134 and 145, and on fragment 85 (see pl. 198, below).

^kFor the suggested restoration, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 54, ll. 10–11. The presence of the left side and part of the top of a stroke below the sign of the heart precludes reading *3w.t-i3b* in some epithet such as *h3q3 3w.t-i3b*. The restoration assumes that the *w* of *3w* filled the space to the right of the heart and stroke, and that the end of l. 25, ending in *mi* *R*, extended below the level of the adjacent lines, to the level of the bottom of the king's crown. On the compound *3w.t-i3b* and its solar connotations, see *RILT* 1, p. 1 (n. b to pl. 3); to those references add J. Assmann, *Re und Amun: Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.–20. Dynastie*, OBO 51 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), pp. 73–74. For the connection of *3w.t-i3b* and the rejuvenation of the ruler, see L. Gabolde, “Les Temples «mémoires» de Thoutmosis II et Toutânkhâmon (un rituel destiné à des statues sur barques),” *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 174, n. 279, and the references cited there.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The surviving traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration are the deepest portions of the original cuts. By their nature, these traces rarely coincide precisely with the outermost edges of the original signs, and for this reason a number of the hieroglyphs indicated on this plate appear to have peculiar proportions (e.g., *nhh* in l. 26) or to be slightly off-center (e.g., the *nb*-basket in l. 13).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The king officiates before a burnt-offering altar, similar to those depicted in the Opet Procession scenes inside the Colonnade Hall (cf. *RILT* 1, pl. 38). On this type of altar, see the references in *RILT* 1, p. 18, to which add J. Quaegebeur, "L'Autel-à-feu et l'abattoir en Égypte tardive," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Quaegebeur, OLA 55 (Leuven, 1993), pp. 329–53. For the scene, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 103; and M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa 2: History and Archaeology of the Site* (London, 1955), pl. IId.

PLATE 134. THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION
ABOVE THE RAMESSIDE ROOFLINE

For a reconstruction of the entire scene with block fragments, and for the translation of texts, see pl. 136. For a detail of the graffito of an ithyphallic Amun, see pl. 227C; for the cartouches of Ay, usurped by Horemheb, see the detail on pl. 226D.

PLATE 135. TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY
DECORATION IN CONTEXT ON THE FACADE, EAST
WALL, SECOND REGISTER

This plate shows the surviving traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration below the roofline of the Ramesside forecourt, in relation to the intact Eighteenth Dynasty carving above (see pl. 134 for a detail of that area). For the translation of the texts, see pl. 136, below. For a discussion of the decorative revision of the first and second register scenes on the east wall of the facade, see the remarks for pl. 131, above.

PLATE 136. THE KING DRIVING THE FOUR CALVES
BEFORE AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

The fragments joining the wall are numbers 1629, 2224, 2221, and 2222. For details of the fragments, floated into place on this plate, see pl. 137, below. For the graffiti on fragments 2221, 2222, and 2224, see pl. 207, Gr. 32–33.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

¹Words [spoken] by Amun-Re-Kamutef: "O (my) bodily son, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^a ²[I am]^b your father, who created your beauty. ³[(I)] bore [you] in order to do what pleases me,^c I am placing the fear of you ⁴[in the hearts of the nine bows], and the terror [of you] ⁵[in their bodies];^d [one to whom] he has bequeathed ⁶his [lifetime] as king^e ⁷[of the two lands(?); (I) have establi]shed you^f as ruler of the two lands like Re every day."

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

⁸[The protection of all life ... surrounds him] like [Re.]

ABOVE KHONSU

⁹[Words spoken by Khonsu]-in-Thebes, Neferhotep: "O (my) [bodily] son, ¹⁰[(my) beloved, lord of ritual/the two lands], lord of glorious appearance[s], Horemheb-[Meren]a[mu]n,^g (I) have given [to you] valor against the south ¹¹[and victory against the north], (I) have united [for you the two] lands in [...] ^h[while subju]gatedⁱ for you are ¹²[...] while [the chiefs] come to you [bowing down through] the fear of your power."^j

BEHIND KHONSU

¹³[The protection of all life ... surrounds him] like Re.

BEFORE THE FALCON

¹⁴The Behdetite, the great god.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^a ¹⁶son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,^g ¹⁷given life like Re, ¹⁸the image of Re, foremost of the two lands, whom Amun himself has chosen,^k whose ¹⁹strength Re has magnified, sacred egg of Atum,^l champion of ²⁰Kamutef,^m whom ²¹all the gods love.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe prenomen is usurped from Ay; the traces of the original name are visible: *Hpr-hpr.w-R^c [ir]-m^z.t* (cf. pl. 226D). A discussion of this text, without the fragments, has appeared in A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8 (Leiden, 1995), p. 270 and pl. 127.

^bThe restoration of ll. 2–7 assumes that *dd mdw* stood at the head of each of the lines in Amun's speech.

^cCompare pl. 132, n. *e* to l. 14.

^dCompare C. Leblanc and S. el-Sayed Ismaïl, *Le Ramesseum IX-2: Les Piliers «osiriques»* (Cairo, 1988), pl. 2.

^eThe king appears to be referred to in the third person in l. 6. Unless an inadvertent misuse of pronouns is involved, the signs at the end of l. 5 may belong to an epithet of the form *swd.n.f n.f* (see M. Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, HÄB 35 [Hildesheim, 1992], pp. 245–46, and the references on p. 385).

^fReading *smn.n.i tw*, the second *n* written as the red crown over the *t* to the right of the pestle. Depending on the orthography of *smn*, there might have been space between the signs of *dd mdw* for *t3.wy* (written with the two tall heraldic plants as on pl. 139, l. 5). For the close association of *swd* and *smn*, see *Urk.* 4, 1712/4–5; *MH* 4, pl. 237B, ll. 3–4.

^gLike the prenomen (see n. *a*), this cartouche is usurped from Ay; visible below the name of Horemheb are traces of the original nomen, *it-ntr-iy-ntr-hq3-W3s.t* (cf. pl. 226D).

^hReading [h]nm.n(.i) [n.k] t3.wy m [...]; compare MH 2, pl. 105, l. 15: hnm.k t3 m wsr.w.

ⁱThe coiled rope determinative and the bit of sign preserved above this, suggestive of a viper's tail, support the reading w^{fw}. The quail chick either represents the -w ending of a passive sdm.f or was added otiosely under influence of the coil determinative.

^jCompare pl. 197A, l. 2 (the west architrave, east face); and pl. 193, l. 15 (column 14).

^kOn the ruler as "the image of Re, foremost of the two lands, whom he prefers to any (other) king," see J. Berlandini, "Amenhotep III et le concept de *Heh*," BSEG 17 (1993): 18.

^lFor the ruler as the sw^h.t-egg, see Grimal, *Termes de propagatione*, pp. 97–98. When the deity concerned is Atum there is most likely an association of the ruler with the creator god of the primeval creation, because Atum is the deity within the egg of Atum; see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik* 1, MÄS 19 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 125–26.

^mThe king is called nd.ty n K3-mw.t.f in l. 2 on the east face of the east architrave (see pl. 196A, l. 2). On the meaning of the divine name Kamutef, see G. Haeny, "Zum Kamutef," GM 90 (1986): 33–34. For the association of the sw^h.t-egg with the nd.ty-champion, see H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), p. 181 (top); and Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 137, l. 30. See also n. b to pl. 196A, below.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The label to the scene was probably written horizontally above the back of the upper calf, as in Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 148, although no trace of it survives; the surface of the stone is destroyed in this area, just above the top of the Ramesside roof. The traces visible in front of the heads of the two lower calves could belong to the labels of those calves (*km* below, the trace being the lower portion of the rear vertical of the sign; *dšr* above, the lower traces belonging to a leg of the bird, the uppermost line being the leading edge of the internal wing line). For an example of the names of the cattle in front of the heads of the beasts, as would be the case here, see a scene of Tutankhamun in Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* 2, pl. Vb. Since, however, the usual position of the labels of the calves is in the space between the chins and breasts, the traces may belong instead to a vertical line of text in front of the lower body of Amun.¹

PLATE 137. A. FRAGMENTS OF THE FACADE, EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER

For the fragments belonging to the second register (fragments 1629, 2221, 2222, 2224), and for the translation of the texts on these fragments, see above, pl. 136.

1. Compare Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pls. 78, 80, 84, 88, 91, 102, 107, and 109.

PLATE 137. B. FRAGMENTS OF THE FACADE, EAST WALL, THIRD REGISTER

TRANSLATION

ABOVE AMUN-RE (FRAGMENTS 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, AND 1609)

¹[Amun-]Re, lord of the thrones [of the two lands ...] ²Words spoken: "(I) have given to you millions [...]"

BEHIND THE GODDESS

³[The protection of all life ...] all [heal]th [... surrounds ...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The orientation of the surviving signs shows that fragments 1842 and 2079 belong to the east side of the facade; the signs are of the appropriate scale for both the second and third registers. A portion of the right border of the scene survives on both fragments. The sense of the text above the head of Khonsu on pl. 136, l. 12, precludes the placement of the two fragments in the second register. Considering their content, and the fact that they belong to the right edge of the scene, the fragments most likely contain portions of a protection formula behind the figure of the goddess who would have accompanied Amun. For a possible additional fragment belonging to this scene, see block fragment 1949 on pls. 140–41, below. For the suggested placement of these fragments, see the key plans fig. 1.

PLATE 138. B. TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION IN CONTEXT ON THE FACADE, WEST WALL, FIRST REGISTER

When the Ramesside portico was added in front of the Colonnade Hall, the original raised relief decoration of the facade below the portico roofline was smoothed away and replaced by sunk relief scenes of Ramesses II. In this drawing, the major figures appear in outline, to provide a context for the discontinuous traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration that are still visible around them. For the recarving of the facade in general and the identity of the figure depicted behind the king as Khonsu, see the comments under pl. 131, above. For the suggested restoration of the scene, see pl. 139, below.

PLATE 139. THE KING OFFERING A HECATOMB TO AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

In this restoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty decoration of the west wall of the facade, hieroglyphs that are wholly or partially visible have been drawn as if complete. Other signs, of which no trace exists but which have been added to complete certain sign groups on the in situ portion of the facade, have been placed within brackets.

BEFORE KING

¹[Presenting a great hecatomb to] his father Amun-Re [that he may make "given life"] forever.

BEFORE AMUN

2“(I) have given to you the [lifetime] of [Re] and the years of Atum [...].”

BEHIND AMUN

3[The protection of] all [life ... surrounds him] like Re.

ABOVE AND BEFORE MUT

4“[... (I) have given to you the life]time of [Re ...]”^a 5“(I) have given to you eternity as king of the two lands^b and everlast[ingness] upon the throne of Re.”

BEHIND MUT

6[The protection of] all life and all health surrounds her forever and ever.^c

BEHIND THE KING

7[The protection of all life ...], all [hea]l[th], and all joy surround him like Re [forever and ever.]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFragment 2231 (see pls. 140–41, below) preserves a portion of the final column of text over the figure of the goddess Mut. The surviving traces of the Eighteenth Dynasty inscription are almost certainly part of a writing of *h^c n R^c* “lifetime of Re,” part of a *dī.n.ī n.k* statement by the goddess.

^bFor the orthography of *ṯṣ.wy*, an early attestation of normalized cryptography, see *Wb.* 2, 327/10–12 and 5, 217; and É. Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 (1940): 325 (characterized as a Nineteenth Dynasty innovation in both those works).

^cIt is possible that the *ankh* in Mut’s hand is the incipit of an abbreviated protection formula (cf. pls. 188, l. 17, and 190, l. 19).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Although little of the upper reaches of the first register survive on the west wall, the relative dearth of graffiti along the *sousbassement* suggests that the images of the gods in the first register of the west wall were not objects of the same veneration as those on the east wall.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

This scene of the king offering a hecatomb to Amun and Mut fits well into the decorative program of the facade of the Colonnade Hall. Not only does the offering of the *ṣḥ.t* balance the burnt offering scene in the first register on the east side (pls. 131–32), but it is also appropriate in association with the driving of the four calves and the striking of the *mr.t*-chests² (see pls. 134–36, and the iconographic commentary to pl. 142).

PLATE 141. FRAGMENTS OF THE FACADE, WEST WALL, (A) THE FIRST AND (B) SECOND REGISTERS

For the placement and translations of these fragments, see pl. 142. Fragment 1949, which preserves portions of the usurped nomen and prenomen of Ay, may belong to the third register scene on the east side of the facade of the Colonnade Hall (pl. 137B), but this is uncertain.

PLATE 142. THE KING OFFERING BEFORE AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU

The major participants in both the original Eighteenth Dynasty scene and the later Ramesside version have been reconstructed, to the extent possible, on the basis of extant block fragments. The former figures are rendered in simple outline, while the latter are restored in sunk relief convention. The roofline of the vanished portico has been indicated as well, across the upper bodies of the king, Amun, and Khonsu, with the large architrave block concealing much of the body of Khonsu. As on the east wall of the facade, late graffiti appear in abundance in areas that are within easy reach of a person standing on the roof (see pls. 136 and 207).

TRANSLATION

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN

1[Words spoken by Amun-Re ...]^a 2[...] 3[Words spoken]: “(I) have given to you the strength of the two lords [...]”^b 4[...] the bows thrown down [beneath your] soles [...]”^c 5[...] the lifetime 6[...] 7[...] 8[(I) have given to you ...] power^d [...]”

ABOVE KHONSU

9[Words spoken by Khonsu]-in-Thebes, Neferhotep: “O (my) bodily son, [my beloved ...] 10[... I have given to] you my lifetime as king [...] 11[... I have given to] you my office and [my] throne [...]”^e 12[...]

BEFORE THE FALCON

13The Behd[et]ite, the great god

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aOn analogy with the corresponding scene on the east wall (pl. 136), the speech of Amun probably commenced with *dd mdw in imn-R^c*.

^bIn this lacuna, restore perhaps *ht h^c.w.k* (cf. pls. 182, l. 8; 183, ll. 7–8; 186, l. 7; 190, l. 18; 197A, l. 2), or *m r-^c.wy.k qn.t nb nht nb r ḥṣ.t nb.t* (cf. pl. 161, ll. 6–7, and *RILT* 1, pl. 110, l. 16). In view of the latter parallel, it is possible that fragment 2227 (see pl. 198, below), which has *qn* preserved on it, fits into l. 2 or 3.

^cFor the power of the two lords associated with the “bows,” see *MH* 2, pl. 101, l. 20, “I have caused that your majesty be seen as (possessing) the strength of the two lords, you having cast down the bows through awe of you.” For *ph.ty* followed imme-

2. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 400–01.

diately by “foreign lands being under the soles,” see pl. 161, ll. 6–7 and *RILT* 1, pl. 119, l. 6.

^dThe traces visible on fragment 2233 (see pl. 141), reconstructed at the bottom left of this scene in a vertical column of text between the standing figure of Amun and his scepter, are apparently the diagonal lines of the three overlapping birds of *b3w* “power.”

^eWhen the words *i3w.t*, *s.t*, and *ns.t* are mentioned together, they usually occur in that order, with *ns.t* last (from the many possible examples; compare *KRI* 1, 208/15–16; and Leblanc and el-Sayed Ismaïl, *Ramesseum IX-2: Piliers «osiriaques»*, pl. 45. For *s.t* usually proceeding *ns.t*, see *Wb.* 2, 321/8–9). However, the order *i3w.t ns.t s.t* is also attested (see n. a to pl. 156, below); furthermore, *i3w.t* and *ns.t* may here be mentioned alone (cf. *MH* 6, pl. 413, l. 6; *MH* 5, pl. 285B, l. 3; *MH* 5, pl. 288B, ll. 3–4; and *RIK* 1, pl. 37C, l. 4). For the restoration of the signs on blocks 1326 and 1327, the most reasonable solution appears to be: *ns.t*-throne sign over *t* and *pr*-sign, with a reed-leaf for the first person singular suffix pronoun to the left, occupying the full height of the *ns.t* group.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The caption of this scene has not survived, nor are there fragments preserving any portion of the figure of the king. As a result, the exact nature of the ritual action depicted in this register remains obscure. The presence of the royal *ka*-figure at the far right and the consequent proximity of the king to Amun probably preclude the interpretation of this scene as one of striking the *mr.t*-chests.³ In point of fact, the striking of the chests is often associated with the driving of the calves (see the iconographic commentary for pl. 136) and may therefore have been the uppermost scene on the west side of the facade, from which unfortunately no fragments survive.

For the reconstruction of the Ramesside scene, with the falcon hovering over the head of Ramesses II and carrying a *hwf*-fan, see particularly *MH* 5, pls. 287 and 289; as well as *Khonsu* 1, pl. 69B; and *MH* 4, pls. 224 and 231. Fragment 2235 appears to preserve a portion of the extended epithets of the goddess Mut (*[nb].t p.t hnw.t [ntr.w]*). For the text above the goddess extending down in front of her figure, see Leblanc and el-Sayed Ismaïl, *Ramesseum IX-2: Piliers «osiriaques»*, pl. 17. Fragment 2235 preserves portions of two vertical columns of inscription. In the right column is a portion of *ip.t* “Opet.” In the left column are the remnants of what appears to read *[w]r nb š[...]*; a possible reading is *nb š[fy.t]* “possessor of dignity,” an epithet attested for the king (cf. *Khonsu* 2, pl. 142B, l. 1; and Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 695, n. 768), perhaps part of a speech of the goddess addressed to him. Fragment 1632, on which traces of the royal *ka*-figure are preserved, confirms that the frieze of cartouches and cobras filled the space immediately below the roofline, as on the east facade.

PLATE 143. A. THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MERNEPTAH ON THE WEST WALL OF THE FACADE

TRANSLATION

Live, Horus: mighty bull, who rejoices in [*m*]aat, who present[s it to] Re in [the course of the day], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [beloved of] Amun[-Re], lord of the [two] la[n]ds, Ba[en]re-Mer[amun], son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Merneptah-Hetephermaat, given [life like] Re [...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The marginal inscriptions of Merneptah shown on pls. 143A and B were carved over dado lines added to the facade secondarily by Ramesses II, when this king utilized the original Eighteenth Dynasty dado area for his own bandeau text (cf. pl. 138A). When the Merneptah texts were subsequently subjected to erasure, the beginning phrase, *‘nh Hr k3 nht*, was left intact on both east and west sides, suggesting that the intention was to reuse this standard introduction to the royal titulary—an intention that was never carried out.⁴ The incipit is therefore shown in fully weighted line, as well as the upper and lower border lines where they have not been smoothed down. The remaining hieroglyphs in Merneptah’s titulary are rendered in trace weight, as well as the dado lines of Ramesses II wherever they are still visible. The palimpsest text on the east facade has appeared in *KRI* 4, 64, B, II; both texts are referred to briefly in H. Sourouzian, *Les Monuments de Merneptah* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), p. 150.

The erasure of the text—except for the phrase *‘nh Hr k3 nht*—seems to be due to the agency of Sety II. A similar situation exists on the west side of the hypostyle porch of Luxor Temple (Nelson number LD 56), where a Merneptah marginal text was smoothed away except for the initial phrase, “Live, Horus: mighty bull.” In this case, however, the remaining text in the bandeau has been recarved with the titulary of Sety II. By contrast, on the east wall of the hypostyle porch, Nelson number LD 46, the entire marginal text of Merneptah was erased and recarved by Sety II, including the incipit; clearly, two differing methods of usurpation were employed. Rather than to posit more than one period of erasure for the Merneptah bandeau texts throughout Luxor Temple, one may reasonably suggest that it was Sety II who undertook the obliteration of these inscriptions, located in the hypostyle porch, in the sun court, beneath the Opet register in the Colonnade Hall (see pls. 172 and 173), and on the facade of the hall. For the hand of Sety II in the surcharging of Merneptah’s cartouches on the columns of the hall, see the epigraphic commentaries to pls. 178 and 194, below; for his usurpation of the scenes of the door thicknesses of the north portal, see pl. 156, below.

For the possible significance of bandeau texts as an explicit indication of royal donations to a particular temple, see K. A.

3. There are instances in which the king’s pose is atypical; compare Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 55.

4. The alternate explanation—that statues standing against the facade in both places prevented the erasure from being made—is less convincing, since in each case it is only the four signs of the hieroglyphic group *‘nh Hr k3 nht* that have been left intact.


Kitchen, "A Note on Bandeau Texts in New Kingdom Temples," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens: Zu Ehren Wolfhart Westendorf* 1, ed. F. Junge (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 547–53. The small cross above the back of the bull in *k3 nht* on pl. 143A is Gr. 15 (see pl. 205).

PLATE 143. B. THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTION OF
MERNEPTAH ON THE EAST WALL OF THE FACADE

TRANSLATION

Live, Horus: mighty bull, [who rejoices in *maat*, who present]s it [to] Re in [the cour]se [of the d]ay,^a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Ba[en]re-[Meram]un, son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Merneptah-Hetepher-maat, given [life...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe traces to the right of *nswt bity* belong to . On *sw* written for *sy*, see A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1933, 2nd ed.), p. 41 §91; and F. Junge, *Neuägyptisch: Einführung in die Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 80.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For general remarks on the carving and erasure of the Merneptah marginal text, see the epigraphic commentary to pl. 143A. The traces on the east side of the facade are further obscured by the Pinudjem tableau (pl. 200) and several other Third Intermediate Period graffiti (pl. 204).

PLATE 143. C. THE MARGINAL TEXT ON THE EAST
THICKNESS OF THE NORTH PORTAL

TRANSLATION

UPPER MARGINAL TEXT, TITULARY OF RAMESSES III

Live, Horus: mighty bull, great of kingsh[ip ...]

LOWER MARGINAL TEXT, TITULARY OF RAMESSES IV

Live, Horus: [mighty] bull, who lives on [*maat* ...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The *nh* in the upper left of this drawing belongs to the horizontal inscription of Sety II below his lowest scene in the east thickness of the north entrance (pl. 156). Both Ramesses III and Ramesses IV have marginal texts within the Colonnade Hall, although those of Ramesses III consist now of but a few fragmentary signs as traces on the column bases. The traces beneath these Ramesses III and Ramesses IV texts are difficult to interpret. On the basis of the depth and positions of the traces, three earlier texts may be separated out from the final inscriptions:

1. The deeply sunk bee wings to the right (above the head of the Horus falcon) and the equally deep sun disk to the far left (above the reed-leaf of *nsy.t*) appear to be at the same scale.

Both signs extend up into the middle of the upper border line of the Ramesses III marginal text. The depth of these traces suggests that they are the remnants of the final text executed here prior to the cutting of the Ramesses III marginal text.

2. Certain traces of signs (disk between the back of Horus and the sun disk with uraeus; between the horns of the bull; above the back of the bull; above the rump of the bull; to the left of the top of the *3*-tent pole) extend up to the bottom of the Ramesses III border. They are more shallowly preserved remnants of sunk relief, and thus appear to predate the traces discussed under the first group, above.
3. A curving trace above the rear claw of the Horus falcon, and horizontal lines above the horns of the bull and between the falcon and the *nh*.

The first group of traces appear to be the bee's wings of the *nswt bity* name of some ruler, and a sun disk—part of the nomen, or an element of *mi R* (*d.t*), etc. The spacing would allow for a cartouche, perhaps with a following epithet, between the bee and the missing *s3*-bird. The nomen of this text would then have extended on the left onto the stones of the Sety II thickness and thus postdates Sety II. This is consistent with the observation that these are the deepest of the traces below the name of Ramesses III. The first group of traces should thus belong to some ruler between the reign of Sety II and Ramesses III. They may then have belonged to Siptah, Tawosret, or Sethnakht (unless they in fact are a later, additional text of Sety II, or an earlier version of the Ramesses III marginal text). None of these rulers appears elsewhere in the Colonnade Hall, but if their meager and troubled reigns allowed them the slightest memorial in Luxor Temple, a short text in such a prominent place as the thickness of the north entrance into the Colonnade Hall would achieve a maximum visibility for minimal effort.

The second set of traces may be read as the *R* of *s3 R*. The upper left curve of the following cartouche survives as a single curving trace, and there appear to be two segments of the inside line of the top of the cartouche just to the right of the curving line. In the area of the following cartouche are visible the plumes of an Amun facing left, and the sun disk of a Re, presumably facing right. These deities suggest a Ramesside cartouche. The best explanation of the remaining traces within the cartouche is to take the small, roughly rectangular traces as the left tie of the foxskins of the *ms*-sign, and to read the vertical line just to the left of the *ms*-sign as a portion of a cloth *s*. The short parallel lines following the *R* of *s3 R* (beneath the sun disk with pendant uraeus) could belong either to the front of the cartouche, or perhaps more likely, to the front of the *mr*-hoe. Interpreted in this way, the second group of traces appear to preserve the remnants of *s3 R R*-*ms-sw Mr-imn*, perhaps the name of Ramesses II. This text is perhaps a later addition below the large vertical text of this ruler, associated perhaps with one of his jubilees.⁵ There is no indication that this text need have extended over to the left, and thus could well be

5. Compare the numerous small texts mentioning jubilees of Ramesses II (*KRI* 2, 377–98).

confined to the area of the doorjamb present during the reign of Ramesses II. If the text extended to the left, however, it could have wrapped around the sides of the door recesses and across the recessed thicknesses (cf. the marginal texts within the thickness of the High Gate at Medinet Habu, *MH* 8, pls. 615 and 616).

The third set of traces are large and of uncertain meaning. The trace above the back of the foot of the Ramesses III Horus falcon may belong to a bungled earlier version of that falcon. Alternatively this trace could be the upper left portion of *h*^c, perhaps belonging to the first set of traces. If those traces belong to vertical texts, one might restore [*nsw.t*]-*bity* [*nb t3.wy nb*] *h*[^c.*w* ...] “[King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, [lord of the Two Lands, lord of] glorious [appearances ...]” (cf. pl. 150A, l. 3). The horizontal lines suggest a dado, although none is expected so far below the Merneptah/Sety II scene. The curving trace crossing *3 nsy.t* in the titulary of Ramesses III suggests the loop of an *‘nh*. The text or decoration to which these traces belong is obscure, if they indeed belong to the same original.

PLATE 144. THE KING PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT-BASTET

TRANSLATION

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, ²foremost of his noble Opet. ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy like Re.^a ⁴(I) have given to you all valor and all victory against every foreign land eternally. ⁵Receive for yourself life and dominion to your nose. (I) have given to you an eternity as king of the two lands.”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁶The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and health surrounds him like Re forever.

ABOVE AND BEFORE MUT

⁷Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven, Bastet who resides in Asheru: “O (my) beloved ⁸son, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^b I am your mother. I am giving you ⁹your suck, that you may you suck fr[om my] m[ilk];^c may] it (lit. they) en[ter] into y[ou] in ¹⁰life and do[minion]^d...¹¹ jo[y...] ¹²(I) have given to you millions of jubilees like Re.”

BEFORE THE FALCON

¹³The Behdetite, great god, variegated of feather, lord of Mesen, ¹⁴as he gives all life and dominion, [all] health [...]

BY THE KING

¹⁵Horus, mighty bull: appearing in *maat*, ¹⁶the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Nebmaat]re, ¹⁷son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Amen[hotep-Hekawaset], ¹⁸given life, stability, and dominion, so that you ¹⁹may be joyf[ul] together [with your *ka*.]

GRAFFITO OVER THE LEFT FOOT OF AMUN (GR. 6)

Amun

GRAFFITO OVER THE RIGHT FOOT OF AMUN (GR. 7)

Amun

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aSince ll. 3 and 4 form a pair, each beginning with *dd mdw di.n.i n.k*, the words *mi R*^c at the end of l. 3 and *d.t* at the end of l. 4 are to be read together as “like Re forever,” qualifying both utterances.

^bBeneath the prenomen of Horemheb in the speech of Mut-Bastet are visible the traces of the original Ay prenomen, *Hpr-hpr.w-R*^c *ir-M*^c.*t*.

^cSee K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Leipzig, 1908–1922), §912a–b, for the phrase *di.i n.k snq.k snq.k*. The first *snq.k* is a collocation for giving the breast. For the king as a child and the significance of suckling, see F. Labrique, “Du lait pour éteindre les torches à l’aube, à Deir el Bahari,” in *Ägypten in afro-orientalischer Kontext*, ed. D. Mendel and U. Claudi (Cologne, 1991), pp. 205–12 (particularly p. 209); J. Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa: Allaitement et «apparition» royale,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, ed. J. Sainte Fare Garnot, BdE 32 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 251–84 (particularly p. 263); and E. Feucht, “Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt,” *SAK* 11 (1984): 401–17 (particularly pp. 402–04 and the references cited there).

^dFor a parallel to *i[r]tt(.i)* *‘q.sn n.k m ‘nh w3s*, see *Urk.* 4, 579/7–11.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Above each of Amun’s feet is a fairly deeply incised graffito of the name of Amun (Gr. 6 and 7). Each *mn*-board has four gaming pieces, and the style of execution of these graffiti resembles that of the nearby Third Intermediate Period graffiti, particularly the name “[*P3*]-my, the younger,” on pl. 204, Gr. 10. On the animal tail of the king is a chiseled, round depression with a deeper hole in the middle. This apparent relic of some later construction is comparatively well executed, much more carefully and regularly done than other dowel and beam holes in the vicinity (e.g., to the left of the king’s belt on this plate).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Much of the figure of the goddess is hidden by the later Philip Arrhidaeus gateway; the individual blocks of this gateway, which largely obscure her figure, are indicated by dashed lines. For the ritual gesture of the king and the presence of lioness-headed goddesses on the entrance jambs of the Colonnade Hall, see pl. 149, nn. *a* and *c*, below.

PLATE 145. THE KING THURIFYING BEFORE AMUN-RE
IN THE PRESENCE OF A GODDESS

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹“Thurifying to your beautiful face (and) to your *ka* eternally.”

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of heaven, king ³[of the gods]. ⁴[Words spoken:] “(I) have [given] to you the shar[es] of the two l[ords], and their lifetime in life and dominion. ⁵(I) have giv[en] to you my [office as]^a sole lord, you having appeared ⁶in glory [as] ruler of the nine bows, all lands being under your two soles. ⁷(I) have given to you all joy like Re.”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁸The protection of life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds him like Re forever and ever.

ABOVE AND BEFORE THE GODDESS

⁹[Words] spoken b[y ...] ¹⁰“(I) have given to you the kingship [of Atum, and the lifetime of Re] ¹¹[in] heaven^b [...] ¹²[...] ¹³your [father] Am[un ...]^d ¹⁴(I) have given to you valor and victory, every foreign land being under your two soles.”

BEFORE THE VULTURE

¹⁵Nekh[bet ...]

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁶The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [lord of the two lands,] Djoserkheperure-Setepenre,^e ¹⁷[son] of Re, [lord of glorious appearances,] Horemheb-Merenamun,^f ¹⁸given life like Re ¹⁹every day.^g

BEHIND THE KING

²⁰The protection of all life and dominion surround him like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aBelow the *k*-basket and to the right is a surviving bit of line, slanting down slightly to the left, doubtless the upper left of a reed-leaf, allowing the reconstruction *īw.t.ī m* in the lacuna. For a parallel statement, see the speech of Amun on pl. 147, l. 3.

^bThe suggested restoration—compare W. Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums I*, ÄA 25 (Wiesbaden, 1972), p. 3 (speech of Ptah)—fits the available space, and a flat-*m* at the top of l. 11 is suited to the portion of preserved surface at the top of that line. For the association of the kingship of Atum with the lifetime of Re, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 481–82.

^cThe reed-leaf following *p.t* could belong to the first word in some statement regarding the subjugation of foreign lands, perhaps *ī-īb.k*: for the king venting his feelings against the nine

bows following the assertion that his lifetime is like that of Re in heaven, see *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 6, ll. 24–25. Alternatively some statement such as “with the result that there come to you” some group of subject foreigners might have followed (cf. also *RILT* 1, pl. 20, ll. 9–10).

^dPortions of a reed-leaf and the upper left corner of a *mn*-board suggest the name of the god Amun; *īt* “father” would fill the space at the top of l. 13. For the goddess referring to Amun in her speech to the king, see pl. 193, ll. 10–14.

^eThe traces of the original version of the king’s prenomen are those of Ay, *Hpr-hpr.w-R-īr[-m]t*.

^fThere are traces in the cartouche of Ay’s nomen, *īt-ntr īy ntr hqꜣ Wꜣs.t*. A corner of the flat-*m* of the name Horemheb is visible above the trace of *Wꜣs.t*, behind the Horus falcon and just below the blockline. The *hb*-sign in Horemheb’s nomen is only partially carved.

^gThe disk and stroke above *nb* serve for both “Re” and “day.”

PLATE 147. THE KING THURIFYING BEFORE AMUN-RE
IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

The photograph of this scene on pl. 146 does not include the figure of Mut, obscured by the colossus of Ramesses II.

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Thurifying to Amun-Re,^a that he may make “given life.”

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the god[s], lord of heaven. ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my office as sole lord, you being established upon the throne of Horus. ⁴(I) have given to you what the sun disk illumines^b and the circuit of Re in heaven.^c ⁵(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion on my part. ⁶(I) have given to you [all] valor and victory.”

ABOVE AND BEFORE MUT

⁷Words spoken [by Mut the great, lady of] heaven. ⁸“[...] like [Re] every [day]. ^{9–11}[...] ¹²(I) have given to you all health and [all] joy [...]”

BEFORE THE FALCON

¹³The Behd[et]ite, the great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁴The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of the nine bows, lord of the two lands, [Neb]maat, ¹⁵son of Re, who tramples myriads,^d great of might, A[me]nhotep-Hekawaset, ¹⁶whom Amun has preferred to ¹⁷any (other) ki[ng],^e ¹⁸given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the reversal of the name of the deity, see H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies 2: The Orientation of Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1977), pp. 93–95.

^bThere is an unexpected empty space between the apparent *shd.t* and the shining disk determinative and plural strokes.

^cFor *nb w^c* and *šnn.t ltn* in proximity, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, p. 74, fig. 38.

^dFor the arrangement of the two *t*-signs within the arm of *ptpt* in the king's prenomen, see C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le Petit temple d'Abou Simbel 1* (Cairo, 1968), p. 132, n. 43; and *KRI 2*, 154/3 (horizontal arrangement).

^eFor this statement, see *RILT 1*, p. 6, n. *c* to pl. 16.

PLATE 148. B. THE KING PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[Making a royal] offering to A[mun-Re, that he may make "given] life" like Re.^a

BEFORE AMUN

²["(I) have given to you ...] all victory."^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aReading [*ir.t*] *hṭp-dī[-nswt]* *n i[mn-R^c ir.f dī]* *nh mī R^c*.

^bThe strong arm determinative, with no loaf-*t* visible above it, most likely belongs to *nhṭ* rather than *qn.t*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For a fragment that possibly belongs to the cartouches of the king in this scene, see pl. 198, fragment 85, below.

PLATE 149. THE KING PRESENTING AN OFFERING TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF A LIONESS-HEADED GODDESS

A line drawing of the right portion of this scene appeared in C. Vandersleyen, "Les Deux jeunesses d'Amenhotep III," *BSFE* 111 (1988): 17, fig. 7; and W. R. Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions," in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. L. M. Berman (Cleveland, 1990), p. 32.

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Present[ing a divine offering to Amu]n-Re,^a that he may make "given life."

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²[Words spoken by Amun-Re: "(I) have given to you ... the power of] Sh[u]^b ³[...] valor and vic- ⁴[tory ...] ⁵[...] ⁶Re-ceive for yourself life, stability, and dominion to your nose. ⁷(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands like Re."

ABOVE AND BEFORE THE GODDESS

⁸[Words spoken by Mut...] who resides in Opet:^c "You are my beloved son, ⁹[...] ^dI have [fashion]ed your members of ¹⁰[electrum and] all your [limbs] of *bi3*-metal.^e [I have] created/distinguished ¹¹[you as the heir] of Re,^f you remaining upon the [throne] of Geb. ¹²(I) have given to you millions of jubilees like Re."

ABOVE THE KING

¹³[... sieze]es all flatlands^g ¹⁴[...] Nebmaat[re] ¹⁵[... Amen]hotep-Hekawaset [...]

BEFORE THE KING

¹⁶[...] Djeserkheperure-Setepenre [...] Horemheb-Merenamun.^h

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aOne might read *rdi.t m3^c* [*hṭp-ntr*] or *rdi.t m3^c* [*3b.t 3.t n im*]n-R^c, either of which fits the surviving traces and the available space. The pose of the king could conceivably fit all of these offerings; for the presentation of the *hṭp-ntr*, see A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor 1*, MMAF 15 (Paris, 1894), pl. 18, fig. 66; M. Aly, F. Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada 4* (Cairo, 1967), pl. G1–6; P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977), pl. 21, block 155; and R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, 3. Abteilung, (Berlin, 1849–1859), pl. 287, etc. For the presentation of the *3b.t* with extended hand and no *hṭp*-scepter, see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada 4*, pl. N1–3; D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, Second Cataract Forts 1 (Boston, 1960), pl. 21A; and Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, pl. 15, block 209. The first register scene on the west side of the facade of the Colonnade Hall apparently depicts the presentation of the *3b.t*-hecatomb (see pl. 139), and a repetition of this offering on the east side might have been felt redundant. The items making up the offering (cf. the *hṭp-ntr* in Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 145, 165, and 158) do not appear in this scene; in other occurrences of the presentation of divine offerings on doorjambs, the king appears alone (cf. Gayet, *Temple de Louxor 1*, pl. 18, fig. 66; and R. A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen 1*, ASE 33 [London, 1974], pl. 14).

^bThe text appears to be a continuous *dī.n.i n.k* utterance, to judge by the ends of ll. 2 and 3. For the phrase *wsr.w šw*, suggested as a restoration for l. 2, see *RIK 1*, pl. 20, l. 28, and pl. 54D; *Khonsu 1*, pl. 58, l. 25; and *MH 2*, pl. 119C (broken). In all of these examples, the king is given the power of Shu and Tefnut, and the name of Tefnut is perhaps to be restored here at the top of l. 3. It is thus appropriate that the consort of Amun

on pl. 149 should appear in the form of a lioness goddess, the duo together representing Shu and Tefnut.

^cAs on the east jamb of the doorway, one expects Mut with a syncretistic name for the lioness-headed goddess. If she is not simply labeled as *Mw.t nb.t p.t*, she could be Mut-Bastet (as on the east jamb) or Mut-Sekhmet; there is not enough space for Mut-Weret-Hekau. One notes that in the dedicatory text on the east wall in the bark shrine of Mut in the triple shrine of the Ramesside Court, Ramesses II refers to having made the monument for his mother Mut-Bastet (*KRI* 2, 615/16–616/1). The prominence accorded to Mut as Bastet on the east wall of the triple shrine mirrors the importance of the lioness-headed goddess in the first register scenes on the east and west jambs of the north portal of the Colonnade Hall. One may also note that the word *ms* survives in the words spoken by Mut-Bastet on the east wall of the Mut shrine (*KRI* 2, 616/6), recalling the texts accompanying the lioness goddess on pl. 149.

Since the fashioning of the king's body from precious minerals is often ascribed to Ptah, the lioness-headed goddess here could be the "beloved of Ptah," i.e., Sekhmet, who is not uncommonly considered the mother of the king; see P. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, AH 9 (Basel and Geneva, 1981), pp. 104, 168, 180. As early as the Middle Kingdom, Mut and Sekhmet are bound together, this connection being particularly strong during the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, as the hundreds of Sekhmet statues of Amenhotep III from the Mut temple attest; see S.-E. Hoenes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet* (Bonn, 1976), pp. 175–76. On an architrave in Hall B (Daressy's "J") in Luxor Temple, Amenhotep III is described as born of Sekhmet (*s3 Pth ms.n Shm.t*; Gayet, *Temple de Louxor* 1, p. 69 [imperfect copy] = Room VIII, PM II², p. 322). Tutankhamun is also said to be "born of Mut" and "born of Sekhmet"; see M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), p. 21 and pl. 12; and Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, pp. 40 and 43; see also *ibid.*, p. 207 (no. 585).

^dFollowing *s3(.i) mry(.i)* at the end of l. 8, the vocative probably continued with *nb-t3.wy* and the king's prenomen, as on the east jamb.

^eThe extant trace at the top of l. 9 is the bottom of the wall of the *qd*-sign, which commences a passage on the fashioning of the king's body. For *h'w m d'm*, see P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik 1: Ägypten* (Stockholm, 1958), pp. 18–24; and A. Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 4 (Copenhagen, 1945), pp. 70–71. The body of the solar deity is not infrequently described as made of various metals; compare S. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, BdE 105 (Cairo, 1991), p. 311; E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj3-* (Cologne, 1971), pp. 180–81, n. 113; and S. Sauneron, *Esna 5: Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (Cairo, 1962), pp. 143 and 145 (= col. 272, 3–4, S. Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna* 3 [Cairo, 1968], p. 174, ll. 7–8). A description of the king's body as similarly fashioned therefore emphasizes the solar nature of

the ruler. Compare also the "Marriage Stela" of Ramesses II, where the king is said to have *h'w.f m nwb qs.w.f m h'd'w.t.f nb m bj3-n-p.t* "his members of gold, his bones of silver, his limbs of iron" (*KRI* 2, 237/14–15, 257/4). Similarly in the text of the "Blessing of Ptah" for Ramesses II and Ramesses III, wherein the god Ptah says *nb.i h'w.k m d'm [qsn.k m hs]mn'w(.t).k bj3-n-p.t* "I (have) fashion(ed) your members of electrum, your bones of bronze, and your limbs (of) iron" (*KRI* 2, 266/5–11).

A text describing the fashioning of the king provides a good counterpart to the nursing text found on the east jamb. For the association of these concepts, see a text on a chest of Tutankhamun, who is described as *rnn Mw.t nb.t p.t šd.n.s t(w) m irt.t.s qm3.n nb-nswt-t3.wy r hq3 šn.t.n itn* "whom Mut the lady of heaven nursed—it was by means of her milk that she raised you—and whom the lord of the thrones of the two lands created to be ruler of the circuit of the sun" (Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 182). Similarly, in the temple of Sety I at Abydos, the goddess Isis suckles Ramesses II; in the text accompanying the scene, along with mention of suckling, the goddess says *qd.n tw Hnmw m'wy.fy m Pth nb h'w.k* "Khnum has fashioned you with his two arms, it is Ptah who molded your limbs" (see K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Great Enchantress in the Little Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun," *JEA* 59 [1973]: 104, fig. 1). For Khnum fashioning the body of the king, see also pl. 168, ll. 4–6, below.

^fFrom the only remaining element of the final word in l. 10—the throw stick—one may read *qm3* or *inl*. *Qm3* "to create" fits contextually and is attested in the abbreviated orthography of throw stick and bird (cf. *RILT* 1, pl. 82, l. 7, and pl. 119, l. 11; and *Urk.* 4, 951/9). One would expect terms for the divine construction of the king's body to occur in the sequence *qd*, *nb*, and *qm3* (see J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1 [Mainz am Rhein, 1983], p. 308). Space at the top of l. 11 is sufficient to allow for a water-*n* and a hobble-*t* (for *tw*) followed by *m* and a short orthography of *iw'w*. For the king as the "heir of Re," see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 178, with n. 534; E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei) nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches I*, AH 2 (Geneva, 1975), p. 232; and Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 70, l. 6.

^gReading [*it*] *t3.w* (see Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, p. 342, §331a).

^hFor this inscription, see the epigraphic commentary below.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The hacking of the figure of Amun does not correspond precisely to the present carved lines of the god's figure, particularly in the area of the right forearm, which drops below the marks of the chisel blows. Since there are no traces of any earlier carving of the wall, this discrepancy suggests that only the cartoon for this scene had been drawn before the proscription of Amun took place under Akhenaton.⁶ Since there are no indi-

6. See the remarks of Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes," p. 31.

cations of Atonist hacking on the other doorjamb scenes, it can be assumed that this scene alone had been laid out prior to the reign of Akhenaton and was therefore the only scene of the facade to be attacked. When the scene and texts were carved for the first time, after the Amarna period, the right arm of Amun was shifted slightly downward.

Subsequent to the carving of the scene, a short inscription was apparently added in paint in front of the figure of the king; to judge from the available space, the text consisted only of the title "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" and the prenomen, followed by "son of Re" and the nomen. This secondary label seems to represent a deliberate association of a ruler of the late Eighteenth Dynasty with Amenhotep III, who is honored as the original builder of the temple in a number of reliefs within the Colonnade Hall. As a parallel to this close association of the two rulers, one may cite a figure of Amenhotep III in the scenes of the Min procession from inside the Colonnade Hall, in which the cartouches of Tutankhamun were added in front of Amenhotep III.⁷ This suggests that Tutankhamun restored the damaged, painted version of the pl. 149 scene by replastering and carving the original cartoon, which was located on one of the most visible portions of the facade of the yet unfinished Colonnade Hall. He then added his own cartouches, but only in paint, in front of the carved figure of Amenhotep III. In his general usurpation of the names of the post-Amarna rulers, Horemheb replaced the earlier royal names in this painted inscription with his own, but the stone carvers did not extend their work beyond the internal elements of those cartouches (cf. pl. 223A).⁸

The Atonists did not hack the area of the feet of Amun, nor did Tutankhamun fully carve that portion of the wall. The uncarved area ends at a point 2.32 m above the ground, and is approximately 1.00 m wide. The Atonist hacking to the figure of Amun ends at a point 2.49 m above the ground, 47 cm above the point at which the carving of the legs of Amun stopped. These facts suggest that a piece of statuary might have obscured the area of stone where Amun's feet would have been.⁹ Considering the presence of the balustrade of the stairway-ramp which leads up to the north entrance of the Colonnade Hall before the addition of the Ramesside court, one may assume that the sloping approach ended in a perhaps somewhat narrow platform in front of the actual entrance to the Colonnade Hall, where the now missing statue must have stood.¹⁰

7. W. R. Johnson, "Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. D. P. Silverman, SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), p. 134. For a more deliberate conflation of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun, see pls. 188 and 189, below.

8. See *RILT* 1, p. 23 (epigraphic commentary to pl. 58), with n. 70.

9. The statues presently in situ in Luxor Temple are too large to account for the dimensions of the void in this scene. An unfinished statue discovered in the first court of the temple and now in the Luxor Museum, number J. 132, is too small (2.41 m high and 75 cm wide) to have obstructed the entire lacuna; for the statue, see *Guidebook to the Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 1978), p. 51; and *Catalogue of the Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cairo, 1979), pp. 88–89, with fig. 67.

10. For the outline of the balustrade, now shaved off to permit the placement of the colossal statue of Ramesses II, see the key plans fig. 1.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

In the first register scenes on the east and west jambs of the doorway, the king is shown in a variant of the *hn*-gesture, which he performs in the presence of Mut in a feline form, called Mut-Bastet on the east jamb and perhaps called Sekhmet on the west. The gesture is particularly appropriate for the wandering goddess returning to Egypt for the *hieros gamos*.¹¹

This scene and that in the corresponding first register on the east jamb are parallel in a number of ways: the king's gesture is similar (although on the east jamb his pendant hand holds an *ankh* and his raised hand is more horizontal), and several of the statements of Amun and Mut are identical or complementary. For the presence of the *hq3*-scepter in the king's hand, see Gayet, *Temple de Louxor* 1, pl. 11, fig. 53, where Amenhotep is shown "presenting all things" (*dī.t iḥ.t nb.t*) to Amun-Re. In that scene the king holds the *hq3*-scepter in his right hand, while his pendant left hand holds a mace and an *nh*.

A good deal of paint survives to show the coloration of the figure of the lioness goddess. The goddess has yellow skin, but her lioness face is blue. This bichromatic treatment is paralleled in other scenes¹² and is also textually attested.¹³

PLATE 150. A. FRAGMENTS OF THE NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, SECOND REGISTER

The reconstruction of this fragmentary scene appears on the elevation in the key plans fig. 1.

FRAGMENTS 1917 AND 1918

TRANSLATION

BEFORE AMUN

¹Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all life and dominion, [all] health [...]"

Compare the Brooklyn Museum model (no. 49.183); see R. A. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989), cat. no. 60, and the literature cited there; for the platform of a temple, and associated stela, see J. C. Darnell, "Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu," in *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, ed. B. Bryan and D. Lorton (San Antonio, 1994), pp. 48–55 (particularly pp. 49–50 and n. 83).

11. For the gesture and its associations with the goddess of the eye of the sun, see A. Gutbub, "Un Emprunt aux textes des pyramides dans l'hymne à Hathor, dame de l'ivresse," in *Mélanges Maspero 1: Orient ancien*, ed. J. Sainte Fare Garnot, MIFAO 66/4 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 67–69; and J. C. Darnell, "Hathor Returns to Medamûd," *SAK* 22 (1995): 77–79 and 91.
12. See, for example, E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zurich and Munich, 1983), p. 187, fig. 150; *MH* 4, pl. 220.
13. Compare Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie*, p. 19, n. 3 (Osiris having limbs of gold and a head of lapis-lazuli, citing E. A. W. Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* [London, 1895], p. 254); see also J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum 3 (Uppsala, 1968), pp. 245–47, for "Isis of the lapis lazuli head."

BEFORE THE VULTURE

²Wadjet [...]

ABOVE THE KING

³The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord [of the two land]s, lord of glorious appearances [...] ⁴Son [of Re], l[ord ...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The text preserved on these fragments provides few clues as to the placement of the scene. The fragments are placed here in the second register according to the general principle of “clustering,” that is, they tend to group themselves into horizontal strips, and by the fact that the evidence of the dressed block surfaces and reconstructed course lines matches the second register better than the third.

PLATE 150. B. FRAGMENTS OF THE NORTH PORTAL,
NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FOURTH REGISTER

The reconstruction of this fragmentary scene appears on the elevation in the key plans fig. 1. The king stood in the presence of an ithyphallic Amun, the ithyphallic form alternating with the striding form of Amun on the jambs. The falcon and the vulture also alternate, as the protective deity hovering above the figure of the king, and one may thus restore a vulture in this position in the fourth register.

FRAGMENTS 1690, 1970, 2066, AND 2217

TRANSLATION

BEFORE AMUN

¹[... foremost of] his [Ope]t, lord of [...] ^a

BEHIND AMUN

²The protection of [all] life, stability, and dominion [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe position of these hieroglyphs above and in front of the figure of Amun suggest that they belong to the titulary of the god.

PLATE 151. FRAGMENTS FROM ABOVE THE NORTH
PORTAL

The scale and background pecking on both these fragments indicate that they belong to the exterior lintel of the north portal, despite differences evident in the spacing of text columns and signs.

FRAGMENT 112 (CENTRAL PORTION OF THE DECORATION
ABOVE THE LINTEL)

TRANSLATION

ABOVE AMUN FACING RIGHT

¹Amun-Re, [king of the] god[s], ²ruler of Thebes. ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you praise [...] ⁴(I) have given to you [...]”

BEFORE THE VULTURE

⁵Wadjet, as [she] gives life [...]

ABOVE AMUN FACING LEFT

⁶[A]mun[-Re ...] ⁷lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes. ⁸Words spoken: “[(I) have] giv[en to you ...]”

FRAGMENT 60 (PERHAPS FROM THE RIGHTMOST SCENE
OF THE LINTEL)

TRANSLATION

¹Words spoken: “[(I) have] give[n to you ...] ²[(I) have] given [to you ...] ³[(I) have given to you ...]”

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The right square hole near the top of fragment 112 is ca. 3.00 cm high, 3.00 cm wide, and 7.50 cm deep; the left hole is ca. 3.75 cm high, 3.75 cm wide, and 8.50 cm deep. These are perhaps peg holes for a repair; the top of this block is a smoothly dressed surface.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the basis of its symmetrical layout, fragment 112 is to be placed on the axis of the lintel. The preserved tip of the wing of the falcon is extremely close to the plumes of Amun, and the intervening lines of text are tightly arranged; this concise spacing suggests that the king was positioned very close to Amun, indeed, virtually in a gesture of embracing. The embrace is in fact attested in the outer scenes of lintels,¹⁴ but in these cases the king and the deity are both standing, while the central scenes are of the king running before Amun. A scene showing the king close to an enthroned Amun seated is unusual for the central decoration of a lintel, where one expects either the ritual run or a king offering on his knees.¹⁵ Although the small-scale depiction of the Luxor temple facade in the Opet reliefs (see *RILT* 1, pls. 55–56) shows the ritual run performed on each side of the lintel, the scenes of the jambs do not correspond to the actual surviving scenes on the portal jambs; to some extent, the representation of the facade has been idealized and cannot be used to reconstruct the lintel scene with certainty. The king could only have performed the ritual run in the central portion of the lintel if he overlapped Amun’s throne and legs considerably, a rather tight arrangement not otherwise attested.¹⁶

On the other hand, the wider spacing of columns and the orientation of text on fragment 60 suggest that it belongs to a separate scene from fragment 112, located on the west side of the lintel, and it is possible that scenes depicting the ritual run—presumably present, to judge from the facade depicted in

14. Compare *RILT* 1, pl. 100 (depiction of the third pylon at Karnak); and *MH* 5, pls. 251–52, 256.

15. Compare Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 14–15.

16. Even more than the slight overlap of the king’s foot over the dais of the throne of Amun otherwise attested in Luxor Temple (cf. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 12).

the Opet register—were present on the outer ends of the lintel. Although such placement is atypical, the lintel of the interior doorway of the first pylon of Luxor Temple—the doorway directly opposite the colonnade entrance portal—in fact depicts the ritual run on its outer ends, directly above the doorjambs.

In view of the uncertainties involved, only fragment 112 is shown in the reconstruction in the key plans fig. 1; fragment 60 is presumably part of the god's speech from the west lintel scene depicting the ritual run, but its placement is uncertain. The reconstruction of the facade on the key plan suggests that the lintel would have accommodated scenes of the same height as those on the doorjambs. The height of the cornice over the lintel and the total height of the facade remain somewhat conjectural.

PLATE 153. A. THE EAST JAMB OF THE GATEWAY OF
PHILIP ARRHIDAEUS, NORTH FACE

TRANSLATION

HORIZONTAL TEXT

¹Live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Setepenre-Meramun. ²Live the son of Re, Philip.

VERTICAL TEXT

³Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Maat, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Setepenre-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, foremost of his Opet, given life li[ke R]e forever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The east jamb is partially obscured by the colossus of Ramesses II, the outline of which is shown in dashed line. For the reused block in this jamb, see pl. 154A, below.

PLATE 153. B. THE EAST JAMB OF THE GATEWAY OF
PHILIP ARRHIDAEUS, EAST THICKNESS

TRANSLATION

¹[The king of Upper and Low]er Egypt, Setepenre-Meramun, ²son of Re, Philip, ³[beloved of Amun-Re ... foremost of] Karnak, lord of heaven, king of all the gods, given all life, all stability and dominion, all health, all joy, [all] valor, and all [victory] like Re forever.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

A record of building activities under Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus survives in a graffito on the exterior northeast wall of the sun court of Amenhotep III,¹⁷ which however does not appear to refer to this doorway.

17. See most recently M. Abder-Raziq, "Ein Graffito der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen im Luxortempel," *ASAE* 69 (1983): 211–18. Abder-Raziq reproduces the copy of the graffito published in G. Daressy, "Notes et remarques," *RT* 14 (1893): 33–34; an examination of the graffito has shown that Daressy's copy may be improved and that a new copy is de-

PLATE 154. A. A FRAGMENT OF THE EAST JAMB OF
THE RAMESSIDE GATEWAY REUSED IN THE
GATEWAY OF PHILIP ARRHIDAEUS

TRANSLATION

UPPER REGISTER

BEFORE THE KING

¹[...] to his father [A]mun.

LOWER REGISTER

BEFORE THE KING

²Giving lettuce [to his father Amun, that he may make "given life"].^a

BELOW THE SUN DISK

³The Behdetite, great god, lord of heaven

ABOVE THE KING

⁴[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, User]kheperu[re]-Meramun, ⁵son of Re, Sety-Merneptah.^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the restoration, see the label to the corresponding scene on the west jamb (pl. 154C).

^bThe cartouches of Sety II are superimposed over those of another king. The cartouches are well smoothed, however, and no trace of the earlier name survives (see also the epigraphic commentary to pl. 156, below).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The left portion of this block fragment is partially obscured by the Ramesside colossus standing before the Ptolemaic gateway, indicated by the dashed line running vertically in front of the royal figure; compare pl. 153A. There is a trace of red paint on the foremost leg of the king in the partially preserved uppermost scene on the fragment. Near the lower elbow of the figure of the king in the lower scene is an apparently unfinished hieratic ink graffito: sš "the scribe ..." (see pl. 205, Gr. 16, below).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the offering of lettuce and its significance, see R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 14 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp. 185–86; idem, "Die Bedeutung des Lattichs

sirable. Although the bulk of the works of Alexander, Philip Arrhidaeus, and the early Lagides at Thebes consisted mainly of renovations of older constructions (see P. Martinez, "À propos de la décoration du sanctuaire d'Alexandre à Karnak: Réflexions sur la politique architecturale et religieuse des premiers souverains lagides," *BSEG* 13 [1989]: 114–15), the Luxor graffito appears to describe the building of two new structures. On constructions of Alexander at Thebes, see also C. Traunecker, "La Chapelle de Khonsou du mur d'enceinte et les travaux d'Alexandre," *Karnak* 8 (1982–85): 347–54.

als Pflanze des Min," SAK 8 (1980): 85–87; and M. Defossez, "Les Laitues de Min," SAK 12 (1985): 1–4.

PLATE 154. C. A FRAGMENT OF THE WEST JAMB OF
THE RAMESSIDE GATEWAY

TRANSLATION

UPPER REGISTER

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving lettuce to his father, Amun, that he may make "given life."

BELOW THE SUN DISK (NOW LOST)

²[The Behde]tite, great god.

ABOVE THE KING

³[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, User]kheperu[re]-Mer[a]mun, ⁴[son of Re] Sety-Merneptah.^a

LOWER REGISTER

ABOVE THE KING (NOW LOST)

⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, ⁶son of Re, Sety-Merneptah.^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe cartouches have been usurped, but no trace survives of the original names. For the usurpation of cartouches in the Colonnade Hall by Sety II, see the epigraphic commentary to pl. 143A, above, and pls. 156 and 178, below.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Numerous traces of paint survive on the hieroglyphs. Traces of blue appear on the armband of the king and in the inner portion of the broad-collar. The stripes of the *nemes*, the outline of the broad-collar, and the uraeus show traces of yellow pigment.

The fragments of the Ramesside gateway appear to be remnants of a portal with jambs approximately 1.0 m wide. Assuming the gate protruded slightly in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty portal (a position dictated by the presence of the colossi of Ramesses II), the resulting width of the passage, originally 4.2 m, would have been no less than 2.6 m.¹⁸

18. The Ramesside gateway could have overlapped the facade of the Colonnade Hall by approximately 20 cm on each side. With such an overlap the Ramesside gateway would not interfere with the images of the goddesses in the first register scenes of the great portal, nor would the Ramesside colossi obscure the scenes on the gateway jambs. The ratio between the width of the facade and the width of the opening of the small gate is .62, the same as for the portal and *avant-porte* of the First Pylon at Karnak and well in line with the ratios attested for other such portals and gateways (see F. Laroche-Traunecker, "L'Architecture," in *La Porte ptolémaïque de l'enceinte de Mout à Karnak*, ed. S. Sauneron, MIFAO 107 [Cairo, 1983], p. 18). Since the width of the bark of Amun, with five carrying poles and bearers, has been estimated to be about 2.2 m (see C. Traunecker et al., *La Chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, Recherche

Each scene on the Ramesside gateway measured approximately 1.1 m in height; remnants of three scenes survive. The lettuce offering scene (pl. 154A) was probably the second scene from the bottom on each jamb, most likely beneath a scene of the king offering wine.¹⁹ Assuming the presence originally of only three scenes for each jamb with a space at the bottom of each jamb roughly the height of one scene, the height of the decorated surface of the gateway would be somewhere around 4.4 m, slightly higher than the inscribed surface of the Philip Arrhidaios gateway, and roughly at the top of the first register scenes on the facade of the Eighteenth Dynasty portal. The torus molding and cavetto cornice would add approximately 0.5 m to the overall height of the Ramesside gateway, and the top of the cornice would roughly correspond to the top of the first register of the Merneptah/Sety II scenes within the thicknesses of the portal.

The reuse of a portion of the east jamb in the gateway of Philip Arrhidaios suggests that the Macedonian gateway replaced the Ramesside construction, perhaps due to extensive structural damage, reflected by the extensive replacement of stones, associated with the Arrhidaios gateway, within the thicknesses of the north portal (see pls. 154–57).

PLATE 156. THE KING PRESENTING FLOWERS
TO AMUN

TRANSLATION

BEFORE AMUN

¹"(I) have given to you my office, my [seat], and (my) throne like [Re forever]."^a

BY THE VULTURE

²[Nekh]bet, the bright^b (one) of Hierakonpolis, lady of heaven.

ABOVE THE KING

³[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Userkheperure-Meramun, ⁴[son of Re,] Sety-Merneptah, ⁵[given life] like Re eternally.

BEHIND THE KING

⁶The protection of all life, stability, dominion [...]

MARGINAL INSCRIPTION

⁷Live [Horus ... the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Mera]mun, son of Re, [Sety-Merneptah ...].

sur les Grandes Civilisations Synthèse 5 [Paris, 1981], p. 82), an opening of 2.6 m is of sufficient width.

19. For the offering of lettuce as the middle of three jamb scenes, see *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 19 right (below the offering of wine and over the offering of bouquets); *MH* 5, pl. 265A (below the offering of wine and over the king thurifying and pouring a libation); and *RIK* 1, pl. 8 (below the offering of wine and over the offering of *Maat*). The offering of lettuce is the upper of two scenes in *MH* 5, pl. 279C; Leblanc and el-Sayed Ismail, *Ramesseum IX-2: Piliers «osiriaques»* (Cairo, 1988), pls. 46–47 (pillar J.VII). Note, however, occurrences such as that in *MH* 5, pl. 275B, where the offering of lettuce is the lower of two scenes.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe usual order is *ỉꜣw.t s.t ns.t* (see pl. 142, n. e, above); for the order *ỉꜣw.t ns.t s.t*, however, see the *Belegstellen* to Wb. 4, 2/3.

^bThe epithet *ḥꜥ.t* for the vulture goddess has several meanings, all of which are best summed up as “bright” rather than “white,” long ago recognized by H. H. Nelson, “Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I-*Concluded*,” *JNES* 8 (1949): 341 and n. 174. The epithet may well refer to the plumage of the vulture, as does the falcon’s epithet *sꜣb-šw.t*. The brightness of the goddess also alludes to her cosmic associations. In the Book of Nut a vulture goddess is depicted perched on a *nb*-basket and the Upper Egyptian heraldic plant, with the label *Nḥb*, at the area of the morning “on her southeastern side” and “in advance of the brightness of the sky”; see H. Frankfort, A. de Buck, and B. Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos* 2, EES Memoir 39 (London, 1933), pl. 81 left border; and J. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, YES 2 (San Antonio, 1995, 2nd ed.), p. 2. As a representative of the eye of the sun, Nekhbet can be *ḥꜥ.t* “bright”; cf. A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen: Aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff*, Abhandlungen der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse (Berlin, 1911), pp. 11–15; p. 22, l. 1/1; and p. 40, l. 11/2. That all of these aspects of the goddess are bound up in the epithet *ḥꜥ.t* is especially evident in light of the constellation of concepts involving the serpent, eye, and crown as a goddess; see Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, p. 14; and W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t, Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 7 (Leiden, 1991), pp. 16–18, 171–72, and 204.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Both of the surviving scenes of Sety II in the thicknesses of the north portal (see also pl. 158) preserve evidence of several levels of plaster and paint, and considerable traces of paint survive on both scenes. For example, traces in the cartouches suggest an original painting of signs in traditional colors, a later yellow overcoat, and a third overpainting in various colors. Amun’s skin was blue, and his broad collar was yellow and red; he wore a yellow tunic and a yellow crown and chinstrap.

The inner surfaces of the cartouches dip down significantly, especially the prenomen, to a depth sufficient to accommodate more than one usurpation; there is, however, no epigraphic trace of a double surcharge.²⁰ Fragment 109 (pl. 159) may preserve a portion of the *ḥtp*-sign of the nomen of Merneptah, but the area is eroded, and the possible trace may be nothing more than a scratch; it appears as a pronounced striation in the drawing. In the area of the head of the *sꜣ*-bird in the marginal in-

scription (l. 7) are traces of a circular sign, perhaps belonging to the sun disk in the title *sꜣ Rꜥ* of an earlier inscription.²¹

The recesses in the thicknesses of the north portal of the Colonnade Hall indicate that doorleaves were intended to be installed. The formal reliefs of the Ramesses II decoration and the lack of the usual “shadow of the door” decoration in the recesses²² suggest, however, that there were no doors in this portal at the time when Ramesses II instituted his decorative program (cf. pl. 224A); any doorleaves that might have been set in place by Amenhotep III or his successors had presumably vanished. The great doorleaves as originally planned would indeed have been massive, and for such a large opening one would expect to find a subsidiary gateway in front, although there does not appear to have been one during the Eighteenth Dynasty.²³ The doorleaf recesses of the north portal were subsequently filled in by a layer of cladding, apparently under Merneptah or late in the reign of Ramesses II, at which time a smaller gateway was erected just before the portal. The reasons for this drastic alteration of the portal remain obscure, although the primary one might have been to eliminate the presence of recesses that would emphasize the lack of doorleaves. To judge from the surviving first register scene in the east thickness, the decoration of the cladding duplicated the scenes of Ramesses II in the recesses. On the basis of the inscriptions usurped by Sety II throughout Luxor Temple (see also the epigraphic comments to pl. 143A, above, and pl. 178, below), the decoration of the cladding probably dates to the reign of Merneptah. The smaller gateway appears to have been eventually damaged by fire²⁴ and was rebuilt by Philip Arrhidæus; the later door has a discontinuous lintel,²⁵ probably imitating the design of the original addition.

For the marginal inscriptions below this scene, see pl. 143C.

Temples of Armant, ed. R. Mond and O. H. Myers, Excavation Memoirs 43 (London, 1940), pp. 162–63, pl. 7 fig. 4, and pl. 87 [2]; for Sety II over Amenmesse over Siptah, see A. Dodson, “Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes,” *JEA* 81 (1995): 118.

21. For the texts of Sety II carved over those of Merneptah, see the marginal inscriptions in the court of Amenophis III at Luxor Temple (*KRI* 4, 269/11).
22. Compare the remarks of O. Königsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, ÄF 2 (Glückstadt, 1936), pp. 73–74.
23. According to D. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst* (Zurich, 1994), pp. 267–68: “bei grossen Durchgängen (von bis zu 15 m Tiefe und 7 m Weite) sind kleinere, oben offene Tore vorgelegt oder in den Durchgang eingebaut, um die Grösse der Türflügel zu reduzieren” (see also *ibid.*, p. 269). According to Laroche-Traunecker, “L’Architecture,” p. 11, the massive doors of the great portals may in some temples have been left in place but open, only the small added *avant-porte* serving to close off the passageway. Moreover, the portals of temples become increasingly important in cult celebrations (*ibid.*, p. 16; and A. Badawy, “The Approach to the Egyptian Temple in the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods,” *ZÄS* 102 [1975]: 79–90; see also the remarks of Darnell, “Hathor Returns to Medamûd,” p. 51 and n. 16), and this may explain the later addition of the subsidiary gateway in front of the north portal of the Colonnade Hall.
24. Compare the front of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak.
25. For this type of subsidiary portal, see Königsberger, *Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, pp. 63–64; and Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, pp. 267–68.

20. It is possible that the original cartouches might have been usurped by Amenmesse, or that ephemeral ruler might have erased the cartouches with an eye toward usurpation, but such a scenario must remain in the realm of speculation because there is no discernable trace of an earlier cartouche beneath the Sety II names. For Sety II over Amenmesse over Merneptah, see *KRI* 4, 202/7–9 = M. Drower, “The Inscriptions,” in

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

On the west thickness of the doorway, the king wears two ribbons or sashes to one side of the sporran and only one on the other side;²⁶ compare similar scenes in W. Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak 2*, ÄA 18 (Wiesbaden, 1968), pl. 53, Bild 75a; and Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 4.

PLATE 158. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Thurifying and making a libation to his father, Amun-Re.

BEFORE AMUN-RE

²“(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum.”

BELOW THE VULTURE

³[Wadjet,] she of Pe and Dep, lady of heaven.^a

ABOVE THE KING

⁴[... given life] like [Re] eternally.

BEHIND THE KING

⁵The protection of all life, stability, and dominion [...]

MARGINAL INSCRIPTION

⁶Live the Horus, [mighty] bull [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aSince the epithet of the goddess, “she of Pe and Dep” (*Wb.* 1, 490/2; and A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* 2 [Oxford, 1947], p. 189*), is one usually belonging to Wadjet, the winged goddess is probably she; Nekhbet with Wadjet’s epithets is less likely. In the surviving scenes of the north portal thicknesses, the goddess hovering above the image of the king is Wadjet on the west thickness and Nekhbet on the east, reflecting the not uncommon Egyptian cosmographic associations of the south with the east, and the north with the west; on this parallelism, see O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* 3 (Providence and London, 1969), p. 5; D. Kurth, “Himmelsrichtungen,” *LÄ* 2, col. 1215, n. 16; F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, OLA 51 (Leuven, 1992), pp. 185–86, 273–74, 292, 310; and *RILT* 1, p. 14, n. p.²⁷

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Amun’s flesh was blue; traces of red and yellow on his torso suggest the presence of a corselet cut low across the

chest. Further traces of red and yellow on the upper left arm indicate the expected red, yellow, and blue pattern of vertical stripes on an armlet. In some places pigment survives beneath the surface of a plaster overlay (e.g., on the arm of Amun to the left, and on the left border line). The *ankh* shows what appear to be traces of a later, blue-green repainting on plaster over the original blue color of the *ankh*. The king wore bracelets, of which traces of blue pigment survive. On the *qbh*-vessel of l. 1 there are traces of blue on either side of a stripe of red.

PLATE 159. FRAGMENTS OF THE DECORATED CLADDING OF THE THICKNESSES OF THE NORTH PORTAL

FRAGMENT 108

TRANSLATION

OBVERSE: PORTION OF THE NAME FRIEZE, WEST THICKNESS

¹Userkheperure-Meremun ²[Sety]-Merneptah^a

REVERSE: PLASTER IMPRESSION OF A SCENE OF RAMESSES II

¹[Words] spoken [by Amun-Re ...] ²lord of the two lands [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aHere and on the other fragments in this plate, the cartouches have been usurped; there is no trace of the original name.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Prior to the reign of Sety II, whose name presently appears in the usurped cartouches of the scenes, the thicknesses of the north portal of the Colonnade Hall were filled in with cladding and mortar, entirely obscuring the reliefs of Ramesses II. The original scheme of decoration consisted of three large-scale scenes of the king offering before Amun. When the cladding was carved, the original decor was imitated almost at the same scale (cf. the relative heights of the registers on pl. 224A), but enough space was left at the top of the third register to add a frieze of cartouches framed by pendant cobras.

Fragment 108, presently located above the west thickness of the north portal, bears a portion of this decorative frieze on the obverse. For the frieze consisting of cartouches of Sety II and uraei atop the decoration of a portal thickness, see G. Roeder et al., *Hermopolis 1929–1939*, Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 4 (Hildesheim, 1959), pl. 64. It is unclear if the Sety II cartouches and uraei from the Colonnade Hall were surmounted by another motif (e.g., crowns, feathers), but this seems not to have been the case. The rough dressing at the top of this block, intended to ensure contact with the lintel of the portal, suggests that it was the uppermost of the blocks filling the recess for the door-leaf on the west side of the thickness.

26. To the left of the sporran, the two visible lines represent the king’s thigh and one sash, respectively.

27. Compare, however, H. Chevrier and E. Drioton, *Le Temple reposoir de Sêti II à Karnak* (Cairo, 1940), pls. 9–10, where Nekhbet appears on the

west wall, and Wadjet on the east. In *RILT* 1, pls. 26 and 97, the Upper Egyptian white crown is mentioned in the song on the east wall, the Lower Egyptian red crown in the song on the west wall.

On the reverse, the thick plaster mortar that was applied to fix the block in position has been impressed with the sunk relief of the uppermost scene of Ramesses II; the orientation of the signs confirms the position of this fragment in the west thickness of the portal, and precisely over the beginning of Amun's speech (for the placement of fragment 108, see the key plans fig. 3). Furthermore, it can be concluded that the scenes of Ramesses II completely filled the height of the door reveals, an observation supported by the relative position of the sky sign as preserved in the plaster impression.

FRAGMENT 109: PORTION OF THE NAME FRIEZE,
WEST THICKNESS

TRANSLATION

¹Sety^a-Merneptah

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe remains to the left of the reed-leaves allow for only one sign and do not suit a writing of Sety with a seated Osiris for *s* and the Isis-knot for *t(y)*. One may conclude that the name was written with the seated Seth deity; curiously, the figure of Seth in this cartouche was not erased, as were those on fragments 108 obverse and 2229.

FRAGMENT 2229: PORTION OF AN UPPER REGISTER SCENE
IN THE EAST THICKNESS

TRANSLATION

¹[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord] of the two lands Userkheper[u]re-[Meramun, ²son of Re, lord of] glorious appearances Sety^a-[Merneptah ...].

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe orthography of the name Sety appears to have consisted of the Seth animal holding an *ankh*; only the *ankh* survived the subsequent erasure of the Seth figure.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The stone inside the cartouches on this fragment has been cut back deeply. There are remnants of red pigment on the sun disk and of yellow in the cartouche background.

PLATE 161. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A
LIBATION TO AMUN-RE

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Thurifying and making a libation to Amun-Re, that he may make "given life."

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, ³ruler of Thebes, who resides in his noble Opet, lord of heaven. ⁴Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and his years as ruler of the two lands. ⁵(I)

have given to you my place and my throne. I have ⁶bequeathed^a to you that which is from me, the strength of the two lords ⁷being in your actions, every foreign land being beneath your soles. ⁸(I) have given to you eternity as ⁹king and everlastingness upon the throne of ¹⁰Horus so that you may rejoice <as> ruler of the two lands like Re every day."

BEFORE AND BELOW THE VULTURE

¹¹Nekhbet, ¹²as she gives ¹³life, stability, and dominion like Re.

BELOW WADJET

¹⁴Wadjet of Lower Egypt,^b as she gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre, ¹⁶son of Re, Horemheb-Merenamun.^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aGraphic considerations at the top of l. 6 might have prompted a full writing of the suffix pronoun and its metathesis with the *n* of *swd.n.i*. A similar metathesis of *swd.n.i n.k* appears in Leblanc and el-Sayed Ismaïl, *Ramesseum IX-2: Piliers «osiriaques»*, pl. 41.

^bFor Wadjet opposite the names of the king, see *RILT* 1, p. 6, n. *d* to pl. 16, l. 7. A similarly placed Nekhbet appears in the opposite doorjamb scene on pl. 167.

^cThe cartouches of Horemheb have been surcharged over those of Tutankhamun.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Parallels for Wadjet's tail curling around and down the plant stem may be found in Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari* 3, pl. 58; idem, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* 5 (London, 1906), pls. 132 and 133; and Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 85, 100, 148.

Blue paint traces are preserved on the upper wing of Nekhbet, and red on the base of the plant atop which Wadjet is perched. For the graffiti around the lower legs of the figure of the king (not shown on this drawing), see pl. 209, below.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the leopard head and skin on the king's sporran, see K. Myśliwiec, "Une Statue-groupe en haut-relief de Ramsès IV," in *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen*, ed. J. Osing and E. K. Nielsen, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 13 (Copenhagen, 1992), p. 94, with n. 29, and p. 95, n. 35 (cf. *Kheruef*, pls. 13 and 17A). For a three-dimensional image of a similarly accoutered Amenhotep III, see A. P. Kozloff, B. Bryan, L. M. Berman, and E. Delange, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland, 1992), pp. 141 and 439; a later three-dimensional version appears in M. A. L. el-Tanbouli, C. Kuentz, and A. A. Sadek, *Gerf Hussein III: La Grand Salle (E) mur est—piliers et colosses*

(Cairo, 1975), pl. 30. According to Myśliwiec (op. cit., p. 94), the image is “une sorte d’amulette rappelant les fonctions sacerdotales du roi.” In the Colonnade Hall the king wears the leopard’s head in each of the first register scenes on the interior jambs of the north portal of the Colonnade Hall (pls. 161 and 167), and on the scenes on the first two columns (pls. 180–81). For a detail of the head of the king in this scene, see pl. 223C.

PLATE 163. THE KING OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving all kinds of beautiful plants [to] Amun,^a [that he may make] “given [life].”

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

²Amun-Re-Kamutef.^b ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you every foreign land beneath [your s]oles. ⁴(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands like [Re] every day. ⁵[(I) have given to you all] life and stability, li[ke Re].”^c

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

⁶[The protection of] all [life ... all he]al[th, and all ... surrounds] him like Re.

BEFORE THE FALCON

⁷The Behdetite

BELOW WADJET

⁸Wadjet of Lower Egypt [...]

ABOVE THE KING

⁹The lord of the two lands, Nebmaat[re], ¹⁰lord of glorious appearances, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, ¹¹given life ¹²like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aPart of the stalk of the reed-leaf and the leftmost gaming pieces of the *mn*-sign are preserved just below the tip of the king’s kilt.

^bThe epithets of Amun-Re-Kamutef might have continued in now destroyed lines to the right of the deity’s plumes.

^cThe beginning of l. 5 was located above the god’s phallus.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The rightmost area of this scene, heavily damaged, is blackened by a fire that caused the outer surface of the stone to shear off. For further evidence of burning in the northeast corner of the Colonnade Hall, see *RILT* 1, p. 42 (epigraphic commentary to pl. 115).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The offering table in front of the deity is of an odd appearance. The table is tall and narrow and displays three asymmetrically spaced legs, instead of the two expected for a table viewed from the side. The support bracket to the right of the central leg shows that the table does in fact have three legs; the depth of carving of the rightmost leg, too, speaks against an interpretation of that leg as an abandoned element of an earlier, larger two-legged table later made narrower. One sort of table usually depicted in a side view as having three legs is the *hnt*-drink stand (*Wb.* 3, 301, 12).²⁸ If bottles were once present here, however, they were incidental to the food offerings and congregated in the now destroyed right half of the offering pile.

On the upper left of the table is a vertical element with a draped, cushion-like overlay resembling the back of a throne. A similar offering table, but with two legs, is well known from the New Kingdom.²⁹ A three-legged version of this table is found during the reign of Akhenaton,³⁰ and the Colonnade Hall example is perhaps a late survival of this apparent innovation of the Amarna period.³¹ For the *‘nh* and *w3s* openwork decoration near the top of the table, see the low table holding the censuring arm in the lower left of *RILT* 1, pl. 7.

PLATE 165. A. THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT BEFORE AMUN-RE

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving ointment to Amun, that he may make “given life.”

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of ³Karnak. ⁴Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all health

28. Compare the orthographies of the word in *MH* 3, pl. 140, l. 57, and pl. 142, l. 124. The stand does not always exhibit three legs; compare Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 63 and 95.

29. Compare Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 137; and Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 2, 4, 19, et passim.

30. Compare N. de G. Davies and N. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* 1, ASE 13 (London, 1903), pl. 28; idem, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* 2, ASE 14 (London, 1905), pls. 7–8; idem, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* 3, ASE 15 (London, 1905), pl. 11; idem, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* 4, ASE 16 (London, 1906), pls. 15, 16, and 31; idem, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* 5, ASE 17 (London, 1908), pls. 3, 15, and 33 (a four-legged version); and idem, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna* 6, ASE 18 (London, 1908), pls. 2 and 26.

31. It is also possible, though doubtful, that a triangular three-legged table was depicted. Although these appear as kitchen furniture in some New Kingdom scenes, an actual example in the British Museum bears on its top a painting of the cobra goddess Renenutet, suggesting that it was indeed a table for offerings; see G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture 1: 4000–1300 B.C.* (Warminster, 1980), p. 67, pls. 111–13; for the kitchen tables, Killen properly cites N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, MMAEE 5 (New York, 1930), pls. 58–59; and idem, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē at Thebes*, MMAEE 11 (New York, 1943), pl. 50; Killen’s citation of T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Private Tombs at Thebes 1 (Oxford, 1957), pl. 22, is incorrect, however, because that table, though otherwise similar to those in the Davies publications, has four legs.

on my part. ⁵(I) have given to you all valor on my part. ⁶(I) have given to you millions of years and myriads of jubilees as reward for this great and excellent monument which you have made for (me)."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁷The protection of all life surrounds him.

BEFORE THE VULTURE

⁸Nekhbet

BELOW WADJET

⁹Wadjet of Upper Egypt,^a as [she] gives life, stability, and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁰The lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre, ¹¹lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,^b ¹²given life ¹³like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aSee pl. 161, n. *b*. Although Wadjet is usually depicted perched atop the papyrus clump representing *Mḥw* (cf. pls. 161, l. 14, and 163, l. 8), here she sits atop the heraldic plants of Upper Egypt.

^bThe cartouches of Horemheb have been surcharged over those of Tutankhamun.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

There are traces of blue-green pigment on the pendant wing of Nekhbet.

PLATE 165. *B*. THE KING OFFERING TO AMUN-RE

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[... that he may make] "given life."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

²[...] like Re every day.

PLATE 167. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Thurifying and making a libation ²to his father, Amun-Re, ³that he may make "given life" ⁴like Re.

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

⁵[Amun-Re, king of] all [the gods,] ⁶who is at the head of the great ennead, lord of heaven. ⁷[Words spoken: "(I) have caused for you] that your monuments endure eternally. ⁸[(I)

have given to you] that which the sun disk encircles beneath your soles. ⁹[(I) have given to you] millions of years like Re.^a ¹⁰(I) have given to you all life, stability, dominion, all health, all joy, all valor and victory."

BEFORE AND BELOW THE VULTURE

¹¹[Wadjet],^b ¹²as she gives ¹³life, stability, and dominion.

BELOW NEKHBET

¹⁴Nekhbet of Upper Egypt,^c as she gives life and dominion.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre, ¹⁶son of [Re], Horemheb-Merenamun,^d ¹⁷given life, stability, and dominion like Re.

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁸The protection of all life, and all stability and dominion, surrounds him like Re [...]

ON SPORRAN OF KING

¹⁹Nebkheperure^e

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe restorations in ll. 5–9 are made on analogy with pl. 161, the corresponding scene on the east jamb of the portal.

^bThe vulture goddess hovering over the king must be Wadjet; not only is Wadjet otherwise associated with the west (see above, pl. 158, n. *a*), but Nekhbet is also perched atop the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt, facing the king's cartouches. The two goddesses are shown in reversed positions in the corresponding scene on the east side of the north interior wall (pl. 161).

^cFor Wadjet in a similar position, see above, pl. 161, n. *b* to l. 14. As suggested in *RILT* 1, p. 6 (n. *d* to pl. 16), the *nb*-basket here may be part of the representation of Nekhbet. The fact that in other scenes (e.g., pls. 161, 163, and 165A) Wadjet is perched directly atop the plant, and without a *nb*-basket, supports such an interpretation.

^dThe cartouches of Horemheb are surcharged over those of Tutankhamun.

^eThe prenomen on the king's sporran has been partially erased, leaving only the sun disk intact. This small cartouche was evidently prepared for recarving by the removal of certain signs, then subsequently overlooked by those responsible for adding the name of Horemheb throughout the colonnade.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENT

For a detail of the head of the king in this scene, see pl. 223*D*.

GRAFFITO BELOW THE PORTAL SCENE (GR. 48)

The curl of a small red or double crown, facing toward the left, is carved below the left end of the ground line.

PLATE 168. KHNUM USHERING THE KING INTO THE
PRESENCE OF AMUN AND A NOW MISSING GODDESS

TRANSLATION

ABOVE AMUN

¹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, and do[minion], all health, and all joy ²as^a reward for this ³beautiful monument [...].”

ABOVE KHNUM

⁴Words spoken by Khnum, lord of heaven: “O (my) beloved son, ⁵Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^b lord of might; I have personally^c fashioned your limbs of ⁶electrum, and all your members (from) iron.”

BEFORE AND BELOW NEKHBET

⁷Nekhet, lady of heaven, ⁸as she gives all life, stability, and dominion ⁹like Re.

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁰The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the [two] lands, Djeserkheperu[re]-Setepenre,^d ¹¹son of Re, lord of [glorious appearance]s, Horemheb-Merenamun, ¹²given life like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe *mdw*-staff of *dd mdw* was omitted at the top of l. 2.

^bThe cartouches of Horemheb have been surcharged over those of Tutankhamun.

^cFor *m-h^c.w* + suffix pronoun (*Wb.* 3, 38/20), a predecessor of Coptic *ⲙⲏⲓⲛ* (W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1965–77], p. 352; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* [Cambridge, 1976], p. 273; and W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* [Louvain, 1984], p. 287), see the adverbial *n-h^c.w.i* “personally” (D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* 1 [Paris, 1980], p. 239, no. 77.2607). Here the phrase is the emphasized adverbial adjunct of the nominal *qd.n(.i)*.

^dUnusually, the cartouches (usurped from Tutankhamun) face each other. For another example of confusion in the orientation of Horemheb’s prenomen, see pl. 226B.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Portions of the stone in this scene (particularly in the upper right) are blackened, as in the scenes on pl. 171, the result of some conflagration in the northeast corner of the Colonnade Hall above the first register, which also caused pieces of stone and the raised portions of some hieroglyphs to shear off compare the condition of the flagmast bays and surrounding stone in front of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak (R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz et al., *Les Temples de Karnak* 2 [Paris, 1982], pls. 382–83). In the damaged areas around the rightmost wing tip of Nekhet, there are fragments of fired brick with mud fill adhering to the damaged stone.

PLATE 169. HORUS AND SETH CROWNING(?) THE
KING IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE

TRANSLATION

BEHIND SETH

¹“... your father] Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, that he may give you eternity [as] king.”^a

BEHIND AMUN-RE

²“[...] bound up beneath [your] soles [...]”^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThis line of text extends to the ground line, and its position behind one of two deities flanking the king suggests that it is the label to the scene. Scene labels which occur in this position and also incorporate the speech of a deity wherein the king is addressed in the second person—as here—usually include the phrase *bs nswt* (cf. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 143, l. 11; Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 78, l. 1; 137, ll. 1–2; 199, l. 1; Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Le Temple d’Amada* 4, pl. B7; Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumba*, pl. 33; and *MH* 4, pl. 246C, l. 1. On *bs* and the introduction of the king into a sacred precinct, see J.-M. Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon*, OLA 32 (Leuven, 1989), pp. 166–75. This scene appears to be a hybrid of the coronation and induction of the king, both of which occurrences a title *bs nswt* could encompass; see Leclant, “Sur un contrepoids,” p. 261, n. 4; compare also the text of Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 199, ll. 3–4, wherein the king is urged to come to the temple of his father Amun-Re, that the latter might give him regalia (*h^cw*).

^bReading *dm³ hr tb.ty[.ky]*. For possible restorations for this line, see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Le Temple d’Amada* 4, pl. H1–2 (text behind Thoth: “all flatlands and all hill countries”); *Urk.* 4, 559/4 (“the two banks”) and 576/4 (“their chieftains”); Gayet, *Temple de Louxor* 1, pl. 25; and P. Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d’exégèse*, RAPH 21 (Cairo, 1962), p. 177 (“the nine bows”).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of earlier carving in the column of text behind Amun-Re show that not only the *hr*-hieroglyph but also the right and left text borders were recarved and shifted slightly to the left, whereas the determinative of *dm³* was recut and shifted slightly to the right.

The deity on the king’s right is completely erased, indicating the presence of the god Seth, whose figure was expunged at the time of the *damnatio* of that deity during the Twenty-Fifth and succeeding dynasties.³² The chisel marks on the figure—smooth, rippled blows from a broad, square-headed chisel—are noticeably different from the hacking on the feet of

32. See G. Soukiasian, “Une Étape de la proscription de Seth,” *GM* 44 (1981): 59–68.

the king and the deity to his left. The latter blows, of a more staccato nature and made perpendicular to the surface of the stone with an awl-like implement, are indicative of a much later date. The block at the right side of this scene, which contains portions of the figure of Amun and the column of text behind him, was discovered as a number of fragments lying inside the hollow east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The feet of both deities face toward the king, a feature not consistent with a traditional scene of the gods ushering the king into the temple;³³ normally all three figures march in the same direction. And while the gods most commonly involved in the induction of the king are Montu and Atum, Seth seems to be present here.³⁴ In most ushering scenes both deities hold the king's hand, although in at least one example a god is depicted grasping the king's wrist.³⁵ The text to the right of Seth, however, indeed suggests the label to a scene of the induction of the king to Amun, whose presence to the right shows that this god is part of the scene.³⁶

In contrast to scenes of divine ushering, when the king stands between two facing deities the context is normally one of baptism, coronation, or greeting: in this example, the lack of streams of water or *ankh*-signs excludes a scene of purification.³⁷ Since one god grasps the wrist of the king, a scene of coronation may be indicated; when Horus and Thoth or Seth affix the crown of the king, these deities might have one hand lowered and holding each of the king's hands,³⁸ or they may rest a hand on a shoulder of the king.³⁹ Here the divine figure on the left, presumably Horus, grasps the king's wrist; Seth might have been shown resting a hand on the king's shoulder, affixing the crown with both hands,⁴⁰ or supporting the crown with one hand and proffering an *ankh* to the king's nose with the other.⁴¹

The Colonnade Hall scene, therefore, is apparently a hybrid of the coronation and induction scenes. For a similarly hybrid scene of greeting and ushering, see Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada* 4, pl. L12, where the king is greeted by two forms of Horus, who flank the king, their feet facing the ruler. The text of Horakhty, however, is *wdj m-ht m3.n.k* ..., suggesting a scene of introduction. In Macadam, *Temples of Kawa* 2, pl. 12, the king is baptized on the right (c), flanked by two deities in the middle (b), and greeted by Amun on the left (a). In the fragmentary middle scene, which Macadam (ibid., p. 66) believed to be the coronation scene, the feet of the deities flanking the king face in towards the ruler.⁴²

PLATE 171. A. THE KING LEAVING THE PALACE

TRANSLATION

BEHIND THE FALCON

- ¹[The king appearing in glory and going to rest] in the palace
²[in the temple of] Amun-Re, lord of the throne<s> of the
 [two] lands.^a

BEFORE THE STANDARD OF WEPWAWET

- ³Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, the power of the two lands: "(I) have given to you eternity as ki[ng ...] all for[eign lan]ds, the [nine] bow[s ...]"^b

BEFORE THE FALCON

- ⁴The Behdetite, ⁵as he gives life, stability and dominion,
⁶and as he gives life, stability, and dominion ⁷like Re.^c

ABOVE THE KING

- ⁸The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre, ⁹son of Re, his beloved, Horemheb-Merenamun,^d ¹⁰given life like Re, ¹¹whom Amun has preferred ¹²to every (other) king.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe divider to the right of l. 1 ends in an area of damage, in which the ends of the words of *h* and *t3.wy* in lines 1 and 2 are lost. For the restoration of the top of l.1, [*h<.t nswt htp*] *m h*, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 73, l. 2, and 153, l. 6; and M. Abdel-Raziq, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis' III. im Luxor-Tempel*, SEC 3 (Tokyo, 1986), p. 21. The restoration of ll. 1 and 2 is restricted by the probable height of the palace facade from which the king emerges. For *h* as a portion of the temple, see L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," *JNES* 44 (1985): 273–74; O. Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom* (UMI Ann Arbor, 1982),

Temple d'Amada 4, pl. F20. In ibid., pl. H10–11, the king stands between two facing falcon-headed deities, each with a hand on a shoulder of the king; the forward deity, facing the king, also offers an *ankh* to the royal nostrils.

- ⁴² These scenes are also discussed by L. Török, "The Emergence of the Kingdom of Kush and Her Myth of the State in the First Millennium B.C.," *CRIPEL* 17 (1995): 221.

33. For Tutankhamun, see the miniature version of such a scene in H. Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun* 1 (London, 1923), pl. 65B and p. 209. For Luxor Temple, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 34.

34. Compare the remarks of Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 261, n. 3.

35. See Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, pl. 33.

36. As in the coronation with presentation scenes in Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 74; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le Temple de l'homme* 2 (Paris, 1957), pls. 99 and 101; and Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 106.

37. Although Seth may be present in a scene of purification (Helck, *Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II.* 2, p. 6), his presence is uncommon (A. H. Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," *JEA* 36 [1950]: 8).

38. Compare E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* 3 (London, 1898), pl. 64.

39. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temple de l'homme* 2, pls. 99 and 101. On coronation scenes see, inter alia, Helck, *Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II.* 2, p. 11; R. A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2, ASE 34 (London, 1974), pp. 44–45, n. 4 to p. 44; and Leclant, "Sur un contrepoids," p. 261, n. 2.

40. Compare the scene of Khonsu crowning the king in Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 106.

41. Compare A. M. Calverly and M. F. Broome, ed. A. H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos 3: The Osiris Complex* (London and Chicago, 1938), pl. 38; and Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Le*

pp. 399–405; A. H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Haremhab,” *JEA* 39 (1953): 25, n. 1; and *MH* 2, pl. 123B (*ḥ n ḥ.t.f*), and pl. 124A (*ḥ.f ḥm.t ḥ.t-nṯr.f*).

^bThis speech is similar to that of Wepwawet in *RILT* 1, pl. 14, ll. 6–12: “(I) have given to you an eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness upon the throne of Horus, every foreign land being under your soles like (your) father Re every day.”

^cThe trace of an *n*-sign, visible below the sun disk, suggests that *snb* was originally intended as part of the protection formula, but then erased to end abruptly with *mī R*. The palace facade, from which the king certainly emerged, would not have allowed space for an adverbial adjunct such as “every day” or “forever.”

^dThe names of Horemheb are usurped from Tutankhamun.

PLATE 171. B. THE KING ADORING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Praising [the god four times], that he may make “given life.”^a

BEHIND AND ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods: “(My) beloved bodily son, lord of the [two] lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^b I am joyf[ul]^c over the monument which you have made for (me). ³Welcome, welcome,^d my bodily son, ⁴[(my) beloved, so that] the ennead which is in Opet [may receive] you.^e ⁵[...] in the Mansion of the Phoenix.^f ⁶[...] upon] the throne of Atum.^g ⁷[...] the lifetime of Re. ⁸(I) have given to you [val]or and victory against every foreign land. ⁹(I) have given to you eternity as king, and everlastingness [upo]n the [se]at [of Re].”

BELOW THE VULTURE

¹⁰[Nekhetbet ...] as she gives life, dominion, and ¹¹stability like Re forever and [e]v[er].

ABOVE THE KING

¹²[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Djeserkheperu[re]-Setepenre,^b ¹³son of Re, Hor[emheb]-Mer[en]amun, ¹⁴given life like Re, ¹⁵whom Amun [himself]^h chose [to be] lord of ¹⁶what the sun disk encircles.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aReading *dwꜣ* [*nṯr sp fdw*]; compare Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 70, l. 11.

^bUsurped from Tutankhamun.

^cThe relative position of the preserved signs of *ḥ*.w permits the restoration of a quail chick as the qualitative ending. The

depth of the damage at this location indicates medieval hacking, which is noticeable on most of the bird hieroglyphs in this area.

^dThis translation presumes a redundant [*dd-mdw*] to have stood in the lacuna at the top of l. 3.

^eThis line is perhaps to be read as [*mr(.i) šsp*] *tw psd.t ḥmy.t ḥp.t* “[my beloved, so that] the ennead which is in Opet [may receive] you”; compare A. M. Calverly and M. F. Broome, ed. A. H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos 2: The Chapels of Amen-Rē, Rē-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos* (London and Chicago, 1935), pl. 36, lower right, ll. 5–6, in the speech of the Souls of Nekhen: *šsp tw psd.t m ḥtp* .wy.sn m nyny n ḥr.k “the ennead receiving you in peace, their arms in greeting before you.” The presence of the *psd.t ḥmy(.t) ḥp.t* in l. 4, in light of the *ḥ.t-bnw* in l. 5, suggests an allusion to the Heliopolitan “election” of the king.

^fFor *ḥ.t-bnw*, a locality in Heliopolis that was perhaps part of the Heliopolitan *ḥ.t-sr*, see W. Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak,” *ZÄS* 82 (1957): 111–15, and pl. 35 top; W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, MÄS 28 (Munich and Berlin, 1973), pp. 32–33; L. Kákosy, “Phönix,” *LÄ* 4, cols. 1031–32; C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), p. 128, l. 420; and Kaplony, “Fürstenhaus,” *LÄ* II, cols. 352–53, n. 8. The *ḥ.t-bnw* appears often in formulae such as *smn rn/nsyt* “establishing the name/reign,” *sš ḥb.w-sd* “multiplying jubilees,” followed by *ḥr ḥšd šps m(-ḥnw) ḥ.t-bnw* “upon the august ḥšd-tree in the *ḥ.t-bnw*”; see Helck, “Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak,” pp. 127–30; and D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, SSEA Publication 4 (Mississauga, 1986), pp. 76–79. A possible restoration for this line is [*dī.n(.i) mn rn.k ḥr ḥšd*] *m ḥ.t-bnw* “[I have caused that your name endure upon the ḥšd-tree] in the Mansion of the Phoenix.”

^gThe vertical grouping of *ns.t* would accommodate the preposition *ḥr* to the left. For possible restorations, see the texts of *MH* 5, pl. 267A, middle (speech of the goddess Mut): *dī.n(.i) nhḥ m nswt ḥ.t ḥr ns.t ḥtmw* “(I) have given to you an eternity as king, you having appeared in glory upon the throne of Atum”; and *RILT* 1, pl. 46, ll. 11–13: *dī.n(.i) n.k nhḥ m nswt tꜣ.wy ḥ.t ḥr ns.t ḥtmw* “(I) have given to you an eternity as king of the two lands, you having appeared in glory upon the throne of Atum.”

^hCompare Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 14, ll. 12–13.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The stone in this area has been badly damaged by a fire, for which there is also evidence on the interior north wall, as well as in the scene of the Amun bark resting in Luxor Temple in the Opet Procession register immediately below.

PLATE 171. C. THE KING OFFERING

TRANSLATION

BEHIND THE FALCON

¹[... as he^a gives] life and dominion like Re.

BEHIND THE KING

²The protection of all life, stability, and dominion surrounds him like Re.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aAssuming an alternation of falcons and vultures hovering over the figure of the king in the scenes of the second register, the wing in this scene would be that of the Behdetite.

PLATE 171. D. THE KING BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE PEDESTAL OF AMUN

¹[...] eternally.

PLATE 172. THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF
MERNEPTAH AND RAMESSES IV:
EAST INTERIOR WALL

On pl. 172, the marginal inscriptions of both Merneptah and Ramesses IV are presented one above the other: that of Ramesses IV appears above, shown with the Merneptah traces that are still visible, and the bandeau text of the latter is positioned below, restored insofar as possible, and with proportionate spacing. The drawing conventions of these inscriptions differ in some respects from those used elsewhere in this volume and are general more schematic. In the Ramesses IV text, the limits of damage are indicated only summarily; signs that are only partially preserved have been completed in dashed line; signs that are missing but which can be restored with some confidence are rendered in brackets; and the upper and lower border lines are drawn irrespective of damaged areas. The reconstructed Merneptah text is presented with fully drawn hieroglyphs and borders; restored signs of which no traces remain are placed in brackets. For a photograph of a portion of the Ramesses IV marginal inscription with the traces of Merneptah's text visible below it, see pl. 224B.

TRANSLATION

RAMESSES IV

Live the Horus: mighty bull, living on *maat*, lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen,^a Two Ladies: who protects Egypt, who subdues [the n]ine [bows], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of [the two lands, lord of might, lord of performing benefactions],^b Usermaat[re]-Setepenamun, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Merapun, Horus of Gold: powerful

of years, great of strength, the sovereign who fashions the gods, who brings the two lands (back) into existence,^c king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of *maat*, a good sun for every land,^d lord of [the two lands], lord of [performing] benefactions for his father Amun, Usermaatre-Setepenamun, son of Re, beloved of the gods, lord of glorious appearances, Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Merapun, given life forever, [a beloved king] like Amun, great of strength like Montu residing in Thebes,^e king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord [of the two lands, lord of performing benefaction]s,^f <who exercises> the kingship of R[e,^g Usermaatre-Setepenamun, son of Re, who has made the city like its] primeval [condition],^h Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Merapun, given life, who has built [the temple as] a work of eternity,ⁱ with the result that Amun-Re is exultant, and his ennead is in [j]oy, beloved king who lives on *maat*, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, [User]maat[re]-Setep[en]amun, [son of Re, lord of glorious appearance]s, [Heqamaat]re-Ra[messes-Merapun, beloved of A]mun-[Re] foremost of [his] Ope[t, like Re forever].

MERNEPTAH

[Live the Horus: mighty bull, exulting] in *maat* and who presents her [to Re in the course of the day, Two Ladies: who appears in glory like P]t[ah from amongst myriads in order to establish] good [laws throughout the two banks, king of Upper and] Lower Egypt, Ba[en]re-Merapun, [son of] Re, [Merneptah-Hetephermaat]; Horus of Gold: who makes [Egypt] vic[torious, who drives back the nine bows, so]verign powerful of ye[ars, who en]livens [hear]ts, who makes the gods content [with what they desire],^j king of Upper [and Lower Egypt, Baenre-Merapun, son of Re], Mer[ne]ptah-Hetephermaat, the perfect god, son of Amun-Re [whom Mut, lady of heaven, bore,^k king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-Merapun, son of Re, Merneptah-Hetephermaat], di[vine] ki[ng ... what] they de[sire],^l who enlivens [the hearts of the gods(?)]^m king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ba[en]re-Merapun, son of Re, Merneptah-[Hetephermaat ...], he [rejoic]ing [within it] every [day(?)]ⁿ [who makes] monuments for his [fa]ther, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-Mer[amun], son of Re, [Merne]ptah-[Hetep]her[maat], who makes g[lad] the hearts of the gods by means of what they [de]sire, who makes monu[ments] eff[ectively ...],^o in order to [take possession of] the two lands by [rightful claim] like [...],^p king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ba[enre]-Mer[amun], son of Re, [Mer]neptah-[Hetepher]maat, [...] whom Amun [himself] has [chos]en, from [whom he (the king) came forth],^q king of Upper and Lower Egypt, champ[ion of] the one who is in Thebes, [Baen]re-[Merapun, son of Re, Merneptah-Hetep]hermaat, ruler like Re, bel[ov]ed one,^r who [has ta]ken [to] himself [...],^s king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre-Merapun, son of Re, Merneptah-Hetephermaat, ruler] of excellence, he of mon[uments ...],^t for [love of] whom the [grea]t [en]nead [which is in] The[bes] rejoices,^u king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Baenre-Merapun], son [of Re, Merneptah-Hetephermaat], given life like Re forev[er].

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe name of Tatenen, where preserved, is consistently spelled as though it were *T3-nnt*. H. A. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 29 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1980), pp. 155–84, does not record such an orthography of the name. For the possible confusion in hieratic of *t* and *nn*, which may be the reason for the orthographies in question, one may compare the quasi-cryptographic orthographies of the name of Tatenen; see Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 164 (Sety I tomb), 171 (Sety I Qurna temple), and 181 (Amduat of Ramesses VI); and E. Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes* 1, ÄA 7 (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 171, n. b. The writing *nnt* bears no relation to the apparent feminine orthographies of the deity's name on some Middle Kingdom sarcophagi from Assiut (Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 15–16).

^bFor the restoration, see the titulary of Ramesses IV on pl. 173.

^cOn *msi* used of the king “fashioning” divine statues, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 104, n. 268. For *ms ntr.w* associated with *shpr t3.wy*, see *ibid.*, pp. 267–68, with n. 839.

^dOn the king as sun for a land or people, see *ibid.*, pp. 370–73.

^eParallels for *nswt mry.ty mi imn 3 phty mi Mntw* include *KRI* 6, 41/15 and *RIK* 1, pl. 77F. On *nswt mry.ty*, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 367, n. 1222, and 616–17, nn. 319 and 321.

^fCompare the occurrence of *nb t3.wy nb ir.t 3h.wt* earlier in this line.

^gThe *ir* of *ir nsy.t R* was apparently omitted. If the bookroll and plural strokes of *3h.wt* did not occupy the full height of the line, however, *ir* could have been written below these signs.

^hFor this restoration, see *MH* 5, pl. 360A; and *MH* 8, pl. 615B. See also Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 359, n. 1199. For the primordial time in Thebes, see G. Daressy, “Une Inondation à Thèbes sous le règne d’Osorkon II,” *RT* 18 (1896): 182–83, ll. 18–20 and 26.

ⁱCompare *Khonsu* 2, pl. 202C.

^jCompare *KRI* 4, 66/1–4.

^kRestoring *ms.n Mw.t nb.t p.t* after *KRI* 4, 64/2. For other possible restorations, however, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 153–55.

^lTentatively reading *[m]rr[.t].w*. For the third person plural suffix pronoun *.w*, see the end of the marginal inscription of Merneptah on pl. 173.

^mFor the conjectural reading *[s]nh [ib].w [ntr.w]*, see the marginal inscription of Merneptah on pl. 173.

ⁿThe trace just to the right of the break towards the bottom of the line can be only the lower left twist of the flax-*h* (V28) or of the “swab” (V29). As regards the trace above the viper, its slightly sloping left end is more suggestive of *m3* or *3* than *htp* or the bookroll. A possible restoration would be *h[]f [im.s r] nb* (cf. pl. 197A, l. 1 with n. c), a parenthetic statement re-

ferring to Amun's pleasure in his temple. For *h3i m* + monument, see *Wb.* 3, 40/10; on *h3i* with reference to a deity in reaction to a king's cultic activities, see E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königstum des Mittleren Reiches* 1: *Die Phraseologie* (Berlin, 1970), p. 79.

^oFor *ir mnw hr mnh*, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 525, n. 389.

^pFor *iti t3.wy m m3 hrw*, see *Khonsu* 2, pl. 142A, l. 1; pl. 191A, l. 2; and pl. 191B, l. 2.

^qFor a restoration as *[pr] hnt[.f]* (or similar), see *MH* 2, pls. 77, ll. 17–18, and 106, l. 41; *MH* 5, pl. 316, l. 21; and *RIK* 1, pl. 65, ll. 6–7.

^rFor the somewhat unexpected royal determinative of *mry.ty*, see *nswt mry.ty* in the later marginal inscription of Ramesses IV (see n. e above).

^sOne may restore *šsp [n].f [hkr.w n it.f R]* “who [has ta]ken [to] himself [the insignia of his father Re]” (cf. *MH* 3, pl. 140, l. 53; and *Khonsu* 1, pl. 57B, l. 4), with vertical *hkr*-sign followed by plural strokes over *n it.f*, and Re written as the seated falcon-headed deity with solar disk. Other possible objects of *šsp* include *h3.w R* (cf. *MH* 5, pl. 313A, l. 7), *nsy.t R* (*MH* 5, pl. 291, l. 3; and *MH* 6, pl. 460, l. 12), *hq3 nhh* (*Khonsu* 2, pl. 165, l. 1; and *MH* 2, pl. 101 bottom), and *hq3.t* (*MH* 5, pl. 295, l. 2; and *MH* 8, pl. 592, l. 10).

^tThe traces to the left of *mnh* appear to belong to the back of a determinative of a seated ruler. To the left of the traces of the determinative is a curving line that is probably the top of the crook of *hq3*, though it could possibly belong to an element of *nswt*. Because *mnh* is written with *t* (cf. *MH* 6, pl. 417B, l. 19), it could belong to an epithet such as *hq3/nswt mnh.t* “ruler/king of excellence” (see *RILT* 1, pp. 7–8 [n. d to pl. 18]); the following *mn* would necessarily be part of an epithet such as *mnwy* “he of monuments.”

^uFor the restoration of *mrw.t*, see *RIK* 1, pls. 19, l. 5 and 57, ll. 4–5. For the ennead of Thebes, a concept apparently originating with the early Nineteenth Dynasty (in contrast to the individual Luxor and Karnak enneads of the Eighteenth Dynasty), see P. Pamminger, “Die sogenannte ‘thebanische’ Götterneinheit,” *SAK* 19 (1992) 249–55.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For the probable erasure of the Merneptah texts by Sety II, see the epigraphic comments to pl. 143A. The marginal inscriptions of Merneptah on the east and west walls of the Colonnade Hall begin at the north end of the hall and proceed toward the south, located just below the ground line of the register depicting the Festival of Opet. They are of similar size (ca. 38–40 cm high) to the Merneptah bandeau texts that occur elsewhere in Luxor Temple: the Ramesside first court, the great sun court, and the hypostyle porch of Amenhotep III. Ramesses IV chose a larger scale for his inscriptions and reversed the orientation of the signs; the upper horizontal border intrudes at several points into the ground line of the Opet register.

The Merneptah inscription on the east wall does not end at the south extremity of the wall but leaves a 71 cm gap, suggesting the presence of statuary in that area, behind which the stone carvers were unable to reach; the Ramesses IV text begins at precisely the same point. On the west wall, however, the Merneptah inscription starts at the northeast corner of the hall, runs to the end of the wall, and turns the southeast corner, ending on the south end wall over the area of the Eighteenth Dynasty dado, where it was subsequently effaced (cf. *RILT* 1, pl. 52). The text of Ramesses IV begins at the southeast corner of the hall and likewise turns the northeast corner at the end, intruding into the dado of the north end wall (cf. *RILT* 1, pl. 3).

In both bandeau texts, but especially in that of Ramesses IV, the signs are alternately spread out and squeezed together, with little regard for consistent spacing. On the west wall, both the Ramesses IV and Merneptah texts end with the kings' prenomen; one might have expected the final name to be the nomen, as in both inscriptions on the east wall. As a paleographic peculiarity, it can be noted that in the Ramesses IV inscriptions all but one of the Amun figures on the west wall wear a scarf at the back of the neck; on the east wall, they all display the floor length streamer. Beneath these bandeau texts are alternating vertical nomen and prenomen cartouches of Ramesses IV, the cartouches facing towards the interior of the temple (see pl. 224B for a detail of these cartouches).

The inscriptions of Ramesses IV have appeared in *KRI* 6, 47–48; the Merneptah traces have remained unpublished.

PLATE 173. THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF
MERNEPTAH AND RAMESSES IV:
WEST INTERIOR WALL

For the drawing conventions used for the marginal inscriptions and for the presentation of the texts, see pl. 172, above.

TRANSLATION

RAMESSES IV

Live the Horus: mighty bull, [who lives on] *maat*, lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-Tatenen, Two Ladies: who protects Egypt, who subdues the nine bows, Horus of Gold: powerful of years, great of vic[torie]s, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of might, lord of performing benefactions, Usermaatre-Setepenamun, the bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorio[us appearances], Heqamaatre-Ra[me]sses-[Meramun], the sovereign who fashions the gods, who brings the two lands (back) into existence, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, a sun for Egypt, lord of the two lands, [Usermaat]re-Setepen[amun], son of Re, lord of glorious appearances like Atum, Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Meramun, given life, the king [who performs] benefactions in Ka[rnak] for his father Amu[n-Re], who placed him upon his throne, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of [rulers, Usermaatre]-Setepen[amun], son of Re [...] lord of glorious appearances, [Heqa]maat[re-Ra]mess[es-Mer]amun, given life, the king who makes monuments in victorious

Thebes, who makes [Karn]ak [festi]ve^a with good things, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, a sun for Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenamun, son of Re, beloved of the go[ds], lord of [glorious appearances, Heqa]maatre-Ramesses-Meramun, given life forever, who has placed every land in joy sin[ce] (the time of) his kingship, who performs *maat* for his father [...], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setep[en]amun, [given life] like Re^b forever.

MERNEPTAH

[Live the Horus: mighty bull, who rejoic]es in [ma]at, who presents her to Re in the course of the [day], [the Two Ladies: who appears in glory like Ptah from amongst] myriads in order to establi[sh good law]s through[out the two banks], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the tw[o lands], Ba[en]ra-Meramun, son of Re, [Mer]ne[ptah]-Hetephermaat; [Horus of] Gold: who makes [Egypt victorious, who drives back the nine bows, s]overeig[n] powerful of years, who enlivens hearts, [who makes] the [go]ds content [with what they desire, king of Upper] and Lower Egypt, lord of the t[wo la]nds, [Baen]ra-[Mer]amun, [son of Re Merneptah-Hetephermaat ... his kin]g[shi]p upon [the earth as ruler of] Thebes [in order to s]atisfy his father ... [whom] Re [has chosen in order t]o [g]o[vern the two banks,^c vigila]nt and [watchful,^d who has aggrandized] the [noble] ci[ty for his] fa[ther^e ... his] mother with^f ... [ruler of] *maat*^g ... king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenra-Mer[amun], son of [Re, Merneptah-Hetephermaat] ... [the domain of A]mun [with] beau[tiful] monuments,^h [son of] Amun, great of [monuments] through performing benefaction[s]ⁱ ... king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ba[en]ra-[Meramun, son of Re Merneptah]-Hetep[hermaat], [established upon] the th[rone] of Horus,^j [beautiful in his] glorious appearance like his father Re,^k the living [adoring his] perfection,^l [king of Upper] and Lower Egypt, Baen[ra-Meramun], son of Re Merneptah-Hetephermaat [who has made monuments splendidly in]^m the place of benefactions for his father Amun, who placed him [upo]n his throne, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Baenra-Meramun], son of Re, lord of glorious appearances Merne[ptah]-Hetephermaat, [beloved of] the g[od]s, [who makes Karnak/Thebes festive] when Re illumines [it] before them,ⁿ king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Ba]en[ra-Meramun,] belove[d] of Horakh[ty].^o

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor *shb ip.t-s.wt*, see *Khonsu* 2, pl. 140, l. 3; also possible is *shb r3-pr.w* (cf. *MH* 6, pl. 391B; *MH* 8, pl. 616B; and *Khonsu* 2, pl. 143A, l. 2).

^bThe group *mi R^c* is repeated as the inscription wraps around onto the adjoining north wall (cf. *RILT* 1, pl. 3).

^cTentatively reading *stp.n R^c r hq3 idb.wy*, with Re written over the left side of the adze of *stp.n*; a bit of the mouth *r* is visible over the *hq3*-scepter to the right and the vertically arranged *idb*-signs to the left. Compare *MH* 4, pl. 231, ll. 26–27;

dr stp.k wī m-hnw hfn.w r nswt hqꜣ idb.wy “since you chose me from amongst myriads to be king, ruler of the two banks.”

^dThe reading [*qn*]-*hr* [*rs-tp*] is conjectural; for this pair, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 523, n. 382.

^eSince the size of the circular trace suggests the reading *nīw.t*, one may tentatively restore [*sꜣ*] *nīw.t* [*šps.t n*] *i*[*t.f* ...]; compare *Khonsu* 2, pl. 142A, l. 2. For examples of a similar epithet (*sꜣ Wꜣs.t*), see *MH* 8, pl. 615B; and *Khonsu* 2, pl. 143C, l. 2.

^fTwo possible restorations are [*rdi htp*] *mw*[*.t.f*] *m* [*mrr.t.s*], as earlier in this line and on pl. 172, or [*shr ib*] *mw*[*.t.f*] *m* [*mrr.t.s*], also on pl. 172.

^gThis feather may belong to the epithet *hqꜣ mꜣꜣ.t* “ruler of *maat*.”

^hFor the restoration, see *MH* 7, pl. 493, l. 1: *shd.f pr imn m mnw wr.w*; *Khonsu* 2, pl. 142B, l. 1: *shb h.t-ntr.f m mnw nfr.w*; and *MH* 5, pl. 361D: *sꜣ pr.f smnh h.t-ntr.f m mnw.f nfr.w wr.w*.

ⁱPerhaps *wr* [*mnw*] *m ir.t ꜣh.wt*; for the association of epithets describing the king as great of monuments and one performing benefactions, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 520–21, n. 372, 527, n. 399, and 528, n. 401. For this passage, see in particular *KRI* 1, 129/4: *wr mnw ir ꜣh.wt n psd.t imy.t Tꜣ-wr* “great of monuments, who performs benefactions for the ennead which is in the Abydene nome”; and *KRI* 2, 748/3: *ir ꜣh.wt wr mnw* “who performs benefactions, great of monuments.”

^jRestoring *mn(w)* following the cartouche; see *Khonsu* 2, pl. 140, l. 2: *iwf mn(w) hr s.t Hr* “while he is established on the throne of Horus.”

^kFor this epithet, see *MH* 2, pl. 92, ll. 1–2; and *Khonsu* 2, pl. 154A, l. 2 (and pl. 178B, l. 2): *nfr hr m hdt mi itmw* “handsome in the white crown like Atum.”

^lFor this suggested restoration, see *Khonsu* 2, pls. 115B, l. 4: *hnmmt hr dwꜣ nfr.w.k* “the sun people adoring your perfection”; and 142C, l. 2: *dwꜣ psd.t nfr.w.f* “whose perfection the ennead adores.”

^mRestoring [*ir mnw hr mnh m*] *s.t ꜣh.wt*; compare *Khonsu* 2, pls. 142C, l. 2: *ir mn[w] hr mnht [m] s.t ꜣh.t* “who has made monument[s] splendidly [in] the place of benefaction”; and 143B, l. 2: [*ir*] *mn.w hr mnht m s.t ꜣh.wt* “[who has made] monuments splendidly in the place of benefactions.”

ⁿFor the suggested restoration, see *MH* 5, pl. 361A; *Khonsu* 2, pl. 140, l. 3, and pl. 145 E3, l. 1 (*shb ip.t-s.wt*); *Khonsu* 1, pl. 29, l. 9; and *Khonsu* 2, pl. 139, l. 3 (*shb Wꜣs.t*). For the concept of the sun god rising or shining opposite a temple, see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le Petit temple d'Abou-Simbel* 1, pp. 142–45; and *MH* 3, pl. 181C. The circular sign to the right of *shd* appears to be a city-sign.

^oThe final phrase was carved over the Eighteenth Dynasty dado of the south end wall (cf. *RILT* 1, pl. 52), where it was later effaced in a manner similar to the Merneptah marginal texts of the facade.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For overall remarks on the marginal inscriptions of Merneptah and Ramesses IV, see the epigraphic comments to pl. 172, above.

PLATE 174. A. THE KING PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMUN

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[...] the ki[ng ...]^a

ABOVE THE KING

²[The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual, Nebmaatre, ³bodily son of Re, Amenhotep-Hekawas]et,^b
⁴great of monum[ents, abounding] in marvels^c ⁵in the domain of his father Amun[-Re], ⁶given like [like Re forever]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aSince the *sw*-plant (restored from Koch photograph no. 30) must belong to the label to the scene—which on analogy with the corresponding scene on the west jamb (pl. 176) ought to be “presenting the house to its lord”—one may tentatively restore [*n*]sw[*t ds.f dd pr n nb.f*] “[it is the k]in[g himself who presents the temple to its lord].” For *nswt* at the head of scene captions, see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 13, l. 1, and 39, l. 1. Parallels for the pose of the king and the position of the label may be found in Aly, Abdel-Hamid, and Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada* 4, pl. L2; and R. A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* 2, ASE 34 (London, 1974), pl. 29 (scene 15); compare also K. Sethe, “Das alte Ritual zur Stiftung von Königsstatuen bei der Einweihung seines Tempels,” *ZÄS* 70 (1934): 52.

^bThe extensive restoration is based on the king's titles on pl. 176A, ll. 8–9.

^cThe diagnostic chisel blows of medieval hacking suggest one of the signs singled out for attack at a late date; a likely candidate is the gecko, with which one can restore the epithet *wr mnw ꜣꜣ biꜣy.t*, otherwise attested for Amenhotep III (*Urk.* 4, 1689/20); compare also *Khonsu* 1, pl. 25, l. 4. Also possible is the causative *wr mnw sꜣꜣ biꜣy.t* (*Urk.* 4, 1647/3).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The dashed architectural lines over the lower body of Amun indicate the outlines of the jamb of the subsidiary doorway (see pl. 225D) that protrudes in front of the scene. The cartouches of the king and the right side of the scene were smoothed back and recut by post-Amarna restorers following the persecution of Amun initiated by Akhenaton. At some point during the Ptolemaic period, the jamb in the area of the king's figure was repaired with several smaller patchstones, indicating serious damage to this area, and the king's figure was sub-

sequently recarved (cf. pl. 225A; see further below, under the usurpation and restorations of the colonnade statuary).

There is red paint on the face and body of the king, and yellow on his kilt and belt. There is blue paint on Amun's collar, leftmost arm, rightmost hand, both knees, torso, and face, traces of yellow on his crown, and red on the collar and shoulder straps. There is also red on the bottom of the *mn*-sign above the king's head.

PLATE 174. B. THE KING BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN,
NOW MISSING

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE NOW MISSING DEITY

¹“(I) have given to you all ... on] my part.”

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

By comparison with the corresponding scene on the opposite jamb (pl. 176B) and on the principle of alternating forms of Amun, the missing deity was doubtless an ithyphallic form of Amun-Re.

PLATE 176. A. THE KING PRESENTING
THE TEMPLE TO AMUN

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Presenting the temple to its lord.

ABOVE AND BEHIND AMUN

²[Amun-Re, lord of the thron]es of the two lands, lord of heaven. ³Words spoken: “(I) have given to you ruler of joy (sic), ⁴[with the result that you appear in glory upon]^a my throne like Re forever. ⁵[(I) have caused] for you that your monuments [endure like heaven ...]^b ⁶(I) have given to you [al]l flatlands and every hill country.”

BETWEEN AMUN AND THE KING

⁷“Life, stability, and dominion^c be to your nose.”

ABOVE THE KING

⁸The k[ing of Upper and Low]er Egypt, lord of ritual, Nebmaatre, ⁹bodi[ly] son of Re, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, ¹⁰[...] ^d ¹¹[...] ^e whom Atum has engendered ¹²like Re.

BEHIND AND BELOW WADJET

¹³Beloved of Wadjet of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion.

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁴The protection of life surrounds him.^f

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThere is space for *h^c.ti* (written with the hobble-*t*) *hr*. For the granting of joy followed by the king appearing in glory upon

the Horus throne of the living, see Nelson number KD 185 (Oriental Institute neg. no. 6837).

^bReading [*dī.n(.i)*] *n.k mnw.k [mn(w) mī p.t ...]*; see *RILT* 1, pls. 7, l. 10, and 110, ll. 6–7 and 29.

^cReading the *wšs*-scepter held by Amun, and the attached *‘nh* and *dd*, with *r fnd.k*. For a similar combination of pictorial elements and text, see Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 130, l. 5, where the oil container is to be read with *r šr.t.k ntr*: “Fine oil be to your nostrils, (O) god!” These may be regarded as abbreviations of fuller phrases; compare *ibid.*, pl. 143.

^dThe first epithet following the king's cartouches is lost but for a stroke. Possible restorations of epithets attested for Amenhotep III are *tī.t R^c* “image of Re” (cf. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pls. 62 and 68, l. 2), *mr.n R^c* “whom Re has preferred” (*ibid.*, pls. 75, l. 10; 101, l. 12; 105, l. 6; and 171, l. 8), *stp.n R^c* “whom Re has chosen” (*ibid.*, pl. 145, l. 3), and *sš imn* “son of Amun” (*ibid.*, pl. 80, l. 12).

^eThe second epithet is perhaps to be restored as *ir.n itm^w* [*‘bw.f*] *mī R^c* “whose purification Atum has performed like Re” (cf. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 92, l. 8). Although the space between the curl and back of the Red Crown is usually free from texts (cf. *ibid.*, pls. 37, 55, 107, 108, 110, 121, 178, 179, 181), there are exceptions (*ibid.*, pls. 43 and 98).

^fReading the *ankh* in the king's hand as part of an abridged formula.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The dashed architectural lines over the feet of Amun indicate the outlines of the Ptolemaic doorjamb that obstructs portions of the scene (see pl. 225E).

For the “reversal” of the king's hands in this scene (cf. pl. 225C), see W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1949, 2nd ed.), pp. 274–78.

There are remnants of red pigment on the crown, face, and arms of the figure of the king. Traces of blue paint remain on the face, neck, arms, and upper torso of the figure of Amun. For a detail of the recarved figure of Amun, showing the taking back of the surface, see pl. 225B.

PLATE 176. B. THE KING BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN,
NOW MISSING

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[... that he may make] “given life.”

PLATE 177. A. THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTION OF
AMENHOTEP III, EAST JAMB

TRANSLATION

¹[...] son of [A]mun,^a his heir on earth, champion of the one who is in Thebes,^b watchful in seeking out an excellent

deed [for his father], who ennobled him^c [...] ²[...] ... by the million,^d king of Upper and Lower Egypt in the black land and the red land, who places the fear of himself in every body, Nebmaatre-Tytire, mighty of strength. He has made [as his monument for his father] ³[Amun-Re the making for him of a great portal]^e of fresh Leba[nese(?)] cedar,^f worked with Asiatic copper from the dues of the [north]erners, adorned with real electrum from the dues [of the southerners] ⁴[...] ... in [bowing to]^g his power, (namely) the great portal of Nebmaatre “Amun is in the ram form,”^h as the maker of great monuments in [the domain of Amun] has ordained,ⁱ so that he may make “given life” forever. ⁵[...] ^jall [vi]ctory. All the flatlands of the *Fnh.w* and all the remote foreign lands are <at> the feet of Amun-Re for millions of eternities.^l

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aIn Helck's copy of this inscription (*Urk.* 4, 1707, with n. a), part of the upper margin appears as a sign in the group following *s3 imn*.

^bFor this epithet, see *Khonsu* 1, pl. 51, l. 16.

^cFor this meaning of *smnh*, see *Wb.* 4, 137/17. After *smnh sw* might have followed *hr ns.t.f*; compare Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis' III.*, p. 206. Helck renders “wachsam ist er beim Suchen von prächtigen Beispielen, [um] es auszustatten” (Helck, *Übers.*, p. 222).

^dThe vertical arrangement of the plural strokes in front of *m* at the preserved beginning of l. 2 suggests an epithet such as *q3b.n.f n.f hb.w-sd m hh* “for whom he multiplied jubilees by the million”; compare *MH* 4, pl. 231, l. 35.

^eThe restoration is suggested on the basis of the damaged text of the opposite jamb (pl. 177C, l. 2).

^fReading ‘š *m3* (*Wb.* 2, 26/11); there is insufficient space for the *m3*-pedestal within the curve of the *m3*-sickle to allow a reading ‘š *m3* “real cedar,” as Helck translates (*Übers.*, p. 222). Two restorations are possible for the specification following ‘š *m3*: either *n t[p h3s.t]* “foreign” (*Wb.* 5, 266/14) or *n t[p hty.w]* “Lebanese” (*Wb.* 3, 349/7; cf. Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 152, l. 11). For *tp hty.w n* ‘š as a toponym, see C. Traunecker, “Le «Château de l'or» de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d'Amon,” *CRIPEL* 11 (1989): 98, n. 43. For generalizing *tp*, see the references in *RILT* 1, pl. 26, n. c to l. 1. On the problem of the identification of ‘š-wood, see R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 405–09; and W. V. Davies, “Ancient Egyptian Timber Import: An Analysis of Wooden Coffins in the British Museum,” in *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, ed. W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (London, 1995), both of whom support the equation of ‘š with cedar. A. Nibbi, “Some Remarks on the Lexikon Entry: Zeder, Cedar,” *DE* 7 (1987): 13–27, and Traunecker, op. cit., p. 95, n. 36, believe it more likely that ‘š is pine.

^gHelck, *Urk.* 4, 1707/17, reads *m ksw* in this area; only portions of the owl's head now survive.

^hOn the *šf.t*-form of Amun, see K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1929, Nr. 4 (Berlin, 1929), p. 22, with n. 1; P. Pamminger, “Amun und Luxor—der Widder und das Kultbild,” *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992): 93–140. The description of an image of Amun as *m3 šf.t* “as a ram,” (see *Wb.* 4, 456/5) occurs in a description of the main door of Luxor Temple in the dedicatory inscriptions of Amenhotep III along the socle of the south rooms; see A. Moret, “La Dédicace du temple d'Aménophis III à Louxor,” in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, ed. S. R. K. Glanville (London, 1932), p. 120 (west face, ll. 5–6). Alternatively one could propose reading the name as “Amenhotep III is the ram form of Amun,” as a reference to the deified ruler; compare L. Bell, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun,” in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* 1, ed. P. Posener-Krieger, BdE 97 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 31–59; and Berlandini, “Amenhotep III et le concept de *Heh*,” p. 16 and n. 11. For the name of Amenhotep III equated with the name of Amun, see P. Pamminger, “Zur Göttlichkeit Amenophis' III.,” *BSEG* 17 (1993): 86, n. 24.

ⁱFor alternative translations, see C. F. Nims, “Places about Thebes,” *JNES* 14 (1955): 118 (inscription no. 27), who takes this phrase to be part of the name of the door: “Amun is dignified by ordaining the making of a great monument in [Opet].” Helck renders: “der geschickt ist, grosse Denkmäler herzustellen im südlichen Harim” (Helck, *Übers.*, p. 222). T. Grothoff, *Die Tornamen der ägyptischen Tempel*, Aegyptiaca Monasteniensia 1 (Aachen, 1996), pp. 387–90, offers a similar interpretation of the name of the portal, based on an imperfect hand copy of this inscription. The missing signs have been deliberately attacked, suggesting Atonist erasure. The group *pr imn* would fit the available space nicely, suit the sense of the passage, and explain the Amarna erasure.

^jBefore *nht nb*, Helck (*Urk.* 4, 1708/1) reads *[q]n.t nb*, which is no longer preserved.

^kOn the *Fnh.w*, see C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth 1 (Brussels, 1971), pp. 102–20; and A. Spalinger, “Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II,” *JNES* 38 (1979): 276, n. 28. For the parallelism of the “remote hill countries” (*h3s.wt šts.wt*) and the “plains” (*ts.w*) of the *Fnh.w*, see Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, p. 115. The *Fnh.w* are attested, also during the reign of Amenhotep III, as representatives of the far north boundary of the pharaonic realm (ibid., p. 111).

^lCompare Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, p. 307. The three *hh*-gods seated below water signs may simultaneously represent a playful writing of *nht* “eternity.”

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The dashed lines crossing both drawings (pl. 177A and C) indicate the edges of the late doorway (pl. 225D and E) added in front of the Eighteenth Dynasty portal. For remarks on the

recarvings evident in this inscription, see the epigraphic comments to pl. 177C.

PLATE 177. C. THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTION OF
AMENHOTEP III, WEST JAMB

TRANSLATION

¹[...] lord of glorious appearances, who has seized the white crown, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre, the bodily son of Re, [his] beloved, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, [beloved of Amun-Re,^a given] life like Re forever. ²[He has made as his monument] for his father [Amun-Re...^b] the making for him of the great and [noble] portal of [Nebmaat]re [...] ³[...] worked with all foreign electrum.^d His majesty did this inasmuch as he loves his father [Amun-R]e [...] ⁴[... acc]ording as [he se]ts^f his divine power^g throughout the hill countries of the nine bows and all the flatlands of the *Fnh.w* who are ignorant of Egypt, ⁵[with the result that they come with their tribute on]^h their backs in order to see the monument of the lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre, son of Re, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, given life, stability, and dominion like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe deep hacking in this area supports the restoration of an epithet involving Amun such as *mry imn-R*^c.

^bHelck (Urk. 4, 1708/7) restores *nb ns.wt t3.wy*. While the nature of the hacking substantiates the original presence of *imn-R*^c, this epithet does not fill the available space. A likelier restoration is *hnty ip.t-s.wt* "foremost of Karnak." The bit of horizontal shadow line just above the plural pellets of *d3m* in l. 3, in fact, may belong to the bottom of the *hnt*-vessels.

^cThe name of the portal (see pl. 177A) probably filled the remaining space of l. 2: *imn m šfy.t*.

^dAlthough both *Wb.* 5, 266/12–14, and E. Edel, *Der Brief des ägyptischen Wesirs Pašijara an den Hethiterkönig Hattušili und verwandte Keilschriftbriefe*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse (Göttingen, 1978), p. 151, understand *tp* in the phrase *n tp h3s.wt* as meaning "first, top quality," the fact that *tp* otherwise has a generalizing function after genitival *n* (see pl. 177A, n. *f* to l. 3; and *RILT* 1, pl. 26, n. *c* to l. 1) supports the translation "foreign."

^eHelck restores *nb ns.wt t3.wy* (Urk. 4, 1708/10). The bit of vertical shadow line at the lower end of the line suggests however the epithet *nb p.t* "lord of heaven."

^fReading *[m]i r[d3f]*.

^gFor discussions of *b3w*, see M. A. Green, "B3w Expressions in Late Egyptian," in *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman*, ed. J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, and K. A. Kitchen (Warminster, 1979), pp. 107–15; J. F. Borghouts, "Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*b3w*)," in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, ed. R. J. Demarée

and J. J. Janssen, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 1 (Leiden, 1982), pp. 1–70; and Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 247, n. 771, and 693, with n. 749. Compare also *Urk.* 4, 612/8: *d3.i b3w.k sndw.k m t3.w nb.w*.

^hHelck (Urk. 4, 1708/12) restores *[i3 hr inw.sn hr] psd.s<n>*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Large portions of the marginal inscriptions were recut when the doorjambs were restored following the depredations of the Amarna period; the original signs survive intact in only a few confined areas. More of the original version survives on the west jamb than on the east. The original carving is characterized by finely cut signs of slender, attenuated proportions, lightly raised above the background; a smooth background surface with no work lines; margin lines of regular width and lightly rounded section; precise spacing; and no outline grooves emphasizing the perimeters of signs. In the recarved areas, the only visible survivals of the original carving are in the headdress of the central *hh*-figure in l. 5 on the east jamb and in the feather of *W3s.t* in the nomen of Amenhotep III in l. 5 on the west jamb.

The manner of recarving differs markedly between the east and west jambs. On the east jamb (pl. 177A), the restorers shaved back relatively large areas around the damaged groups, so as to minimize the abrupt change in the background level. They then recarved the text, albeit in more summary fashion than the original carving; note in particular the three *hh*-signs of l. 5, where the leftmost is original and the other two are recarved with different degrees of skill. On the west jamb (pl. 177C), the damaged areas were simply scooped back, plastered over, and recut, leaving other signs in the immediate area intact. The recut areas are: l. 1, between *mr.f* and *nh mi R d.t*; l. 2, between *n it.f* and *ir.t n.f*, and the end of this line after the prenomen cartouche; l. 3, after *n 3.t n mrr.f it.f*; and l. 5, the interior of the nomen of Amenhotep III. One may note that both methods of recarving texts are characteristic of Ramesside restorations of Amarna desecrations.

The bottom of the stroke of *R*^c in the divine name *imn-R*^c at the end of l. 3 on the west jamb is a rather shallowly incised Ramesside restoration. Though not attacked by the disk worshippers, the element *R*^c was evidently affected by the Ramesside smoothing of the adjoining *imn* and therefore required reworking, too. The small piece of stone at the top left of the inscription on the west jamb is a post-Ramesside patch stone, on which only the top of the white crown was fully carved; the carving does not imitate the careful recutting of the figure of Amun above (see also the comments under the usurpation and restorations of the colonnade statues, below).

PLATE 178. SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF COLUMN 3

The schematic diagrams of the columns are intended to show the major decorative features in relative position to each other; for the details of each register of decoration, see figs. 1–4. For the offering scenes on the columns, see pls. 180–93. For

Column 2	[Nb- <i>hpr.w-R</i>] <i>Dsr-hpr.w-R</i> <i>Stp-n-R</i>	[Twt- <i>nh-imn Hq3-iwnw-rsy</i>] <i>Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn</i>	Column 1	[Nb- <i>hpr.w-R</i>] <i>Dsr-hpr.w-R</i> <i>Stp-n-R</i>	[Twt- <i>nh-imn Hq3-iwnw-rsy</i>] <i>Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn</i>
Column 4	<i>Nb-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>imn-htp Hq3-W3s.t</i>	Column 3	<i>Nb-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>imn-htp Hq3-W3s.t</i>
Column 6	[Nb- <i>hpr.w-R</i>] <i>Dsr-hpr.w-R</i> <i>Stp-n-R</i>	[Twt- <i>nh-imn Hq3-iwnw-rsy</i>] <i>Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn</i>	Column 5	[Nb- <i>hpr.w-R</i>] <i>Dsr-hpr.w-R</i> <i>Stp-n-R</i>	[Twt- <i>nh-imn Hq3-iwnw-rsy</i>] <i>Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn</i>
Column 8	[Nb- <i>hpr.w-R</i>] <i>Dsr-hpr.w-R</i> <i>Stp-n-R</i>	[Twt- <i>nh-imn Hq3-iwnw-rsy</i>] <i>Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn</i>	Column 7	[Nb- <i>hpr.w-R</i>] <i>Dsr-hpr.w-R</i> <i>Stp-n-R</i>	[Twt- <i>nh-imn Hq3-iwnw-rsy</i>] <i>Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn</i>
Column 10	<i>Nb-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>imn-htp Hq3-W3s.t</i>	Column 9	<i>Nb-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>imn-htp Hq3-W3s.t</i>
Column 12	<i>Mn-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>Sty Mr-n-Pth</i>	Column 11	<i>Mn-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>Sty Mr-n-Pth</i>
Column 14	<i>Mn-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>Sty Mr-n-Pth</i>	Column 13	<i>Mn-m3^c.t-R</i>	<i>Sty Mr-n-Pth</i>

Figure 1. Royal Names in the Upper Friezes of the Columns

the upper text bands, usurped by Sety II, see pl. 194. For the column bases, see pl. 195. For photographic details of the cartouches, see pl. 226.

TRANSLATION

UPPER CARTOUCHE FRIEZE

Nebmaatre, Amenhotep-Hekawaset

UPPER PAIR OF CARTOUCHES FACING CENTRAL PASSAGE

Userkheperure-Meramun, Sety-Merneptah^a

UPPER HORIZONTAL TEXT BANDS

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun,^a beloved of Amun-Re. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah,^a beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

LOWER PAIR OF CARTOUCHES FACING CENTRAL PASSAGE

Usermaatre-Setepenre, Ramesses-Meramun

LOWER HORIZONTAL TEXT BANDS

¹Live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of *maat*, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre. ²Live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of *maat*,^b son of Re, Ramesses-Meramun.

LOWER CARTOUCHE FRIEZE

Userkheperure-Meramun, Sety-Merneptah^a

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe cartouches of Sety II have been usurped from Merneptah.

^bIn this position on column 7, the seated *maat* figure occupies the full height of the text band and is followed by the *mr-hoe*. The same orthography occurs also on column 10 (prenomen side). The poor state of preservation of this text band, which is predominantly cement on most of the columns, renders impossible the detection of any pattern in the choice of orthography. See also pl. 179, n. c, below.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Each column is an image of a papyrus stalk, the roughly triangular cross-section of which is represented by three carved

“ridges” that rise vertically up the shaft from base to capital.⁴³ In the east row of columns, one ridge is oriented facing roughly local east (toward the east side wall of the hall), while the other two ridges run approximately through the sides of the offering scene positioned toward the processional axis.⁴⁴ The west row mirrors this orientation, with one ridge facing roughly local west (toward the west side wall of the hall) and the other two ridges running once again through the sides of the central offering scenes. There is no strict orientation, however, and the irregularity may be intentional since it represents a natural, variable feature.

The shafts of the columns are adorned with five registers of decoration. From top to bottom these registers are:

1. A frieze of vertical cartouches (see figs. 1 and 2).⁴⁵
2. A band of horizontal royal names and epithets with two centered vertical cartouches, belonging to Sety II usurped from Merneptah (see pls. 178–79 and 194).
3. A large offering scene (see pls. 180–93).
4. Another band of horizontal royal names and epithets with two centered vertical cartouches, belonging to Ramesses II (see pls. 178–79).
5. A series of vertical cartouches with uraei placed between the tips of the overlapping sheathing of the stalk at the bases of the columns (see figs. 3–4).

In the upper frieze of decoration, each nomen is adorned with a pair of pendant uraei (see pl. 226F), which face outward to confront the alternating prenomen. The carving is consistently low raised relief—in some cases, as on column 9, ex-

43. L. Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Pflazensäule: Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte des Pflanzenornaments* (Berlin, 1897), p. 25, Abb. 42 and p. 38–39, Abb. 65; compare p. 37, Abb. 61.

44. Rendered as vertical stippled seams, the ridges are visible in the schematic drawings (pls. 178–79) and the great offering scenes (pls. 180–93).

45. Just beneath the upper frieze is a decorative border, not indicated on the schematic drawings of columns 3 and 8, consisting of two pairs of parallel horizontal lines between which, on columns 1 through 10 only, are carved groups of four vertical line segments to indicate the usual band of colored rectangles that frame a scene. These line segments were most likely added in paint on columns 11 through 14.

Column 2	TN ^a ←	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 ^b → TP	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ← TP	HN-1 ← **	HP-1 ← TP		
Column 4	AP →	AN-1 →	AP ←	AN-1 →	AP ←	AN-1 ←	AP ←	AN-1 ←	AP →	AN-1 ^c ←		
Column 6	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ← **	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ← TP	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ← TP	HN-1 ← TN ←		
Column 8	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 ^d → TP	HN-1 ^e ← TN ←	HP-1 ^e ← **	HN-1 ← **	HP-1 ← TP	HN-1 ← TN ←		
Column 10	AP →	AN-1 ←	AP ←	AN-1 ←	AP ←	AN-1 ←	AP ←	AN-1 ←	AP ←	AN-1 →		
Column 12	SP →	SN-1 ^f ←	SP ←	SN-1 ^g ←	SP ←	SN-1 ←	SP ←	SN-1 ←	SP ←	SN-1 ^h →	SP →	SN-1 →
Column 14	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-1 →	SP ←	SN-1 ←	SP ←	SN-1 ←	SP ←	SN-1 ⁱ ←	SP ←	SN-1 ^j →	SP →

Key to Name Codes in Figure 2

AP = Amenhotep III Prenomen	AN-1 = Amenhotep III Nomen-Variant 1	AN-2 = Amenhotep III Nomen-Variant 2	TP = Tutankhamun Prenomen	TN = Tutankhamun Nomen		
HP-1 = Horemheb Prenomen-Variant 1	HP-2 = Horemheb Prenomen-Variant 2	HN-1 = Horemheb Nomen-Variant 1	HN-2 = Horemheb Nomen-Variant 2	SP = Sety I Prenomen	SN-1 = Sety I Nomen-Variant 1	SN-2 = Sety I Nomen-Variant 2

Figure 2. Orientation of Royal Names in the Upper Friezes of the Columns

traordinarily low relief. The execution of the hieroglyphs varies in both form and detailing from one column to the next.⁴⁶

46. For example, the *n*-signs vary in number of ripples, showing as many as seventeen. Other signs show similar variation, as in Sety I frieze on columns 11–14, where the *p*-sign in *Pth* is shown as a simple rectangle on columns 11 and 13 and shown with three horizontal bands on columns 12 and 14.

The names in the uppermost frieze of cartouches (see fig. 1) reflect the history of the building and interior decoration of the Colonnade Hall (see the *Preface*, pp. xvii–xix). Columns 1 through 10 were decorated during the reign of Tutankhamun, who placed the name of Amenhotep III in the upper friezes of columns 3, 4, 9, and 10. Horemheb subsequently usurped the Tutankhamun friezes (cf. pl. 226B–C), but left the names of

Column 1	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ←	HN-1 ^k →	HP-1 →	HN-1 →	HP-1 →	HN-2 ←	HP-1 ←	HN-1 ←	HP-1 ←				
Column 3	AN-1 ←	AP →	AN-1 →	AP →	AN-1 →	AP →	AN-1 ←	AP →	AN-1 ←	AP ^l ←				
Column 5	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 ^m → **	HN-1 ^m → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN ^o →	HP ⁿ → TP				
Column 7	TN ^p →	HP-2 ^q → TP	HN-1 → TN ^r →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 → TN →	HP-1 → TP	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ← TP	HN-1 ← TN ←	HP-1 ← TP				
Column 9	AN-2 →	AP →	AN-2 →	AP →	AN-2 →	AP →	AN-2 →	AP ^s →	AN-2 →	AP →				
Column 11	SP ←	SN-1 ^t ←	SP →	SN-1 ^t →	SP →	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-2 ^u →	SP →	SN-1 ←	SP ←	SN-1 ←
Column 13	SP ^v ←	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-1 →	SP →	SN-1 ←	SP ←	SN-1 ←		

Notes to Figure 2

^a The *imn* is intact; *twt* and *nh* are erased; damage appears below these signs, but there are no traces of the name of Horemheb.

^b There is a trace of a smaller disk within the lower disk.

^c The cartouche is carved in very low relief.

^d Orthographic variations are especially noticeable in this Horemheb prenomen, where the *hpr*-beetle is rounder, and the *dsw*-sign and *stp*-sign thinner, than elsewhere.

^e The area has been taken back roughly for the usurpation; a section of discolored stone indicates natural abrasion as well.

^f The face of the Seth animal is not hacked.

^g All the signs over the *mr*-sign are damaged and possibly hacked.

^h The Seth animal is not hacked, but an area of stone is missing over the lower half of the figure, perhaps signifying old damage that was not considered worth attacking.

ⁱ The face of the Seth animal is lost; the *t*-sign of *Pth* is very low.

^j The face of the Seth animal is not hacked.

^k The Horus falcon is incompletely carved.

^l The *maat* figure in this cartouche on pl. 178 should be corrected to face left.

^m The cartouches are very damaged, their upper halves entirely missing.

ⁿ Horemheb's prenomen is incompletely carved, and Tutankhamun's name is still quite visible below. The Horemheb name lacks the plural strokes for *hpr.w*, as well as the *dsw*-sign; only the lower portion of the beetle was carved; *Stp-n-r*^c is clearly recut, but all of the original signs of Tutankhamun's prenomen are incompletely erased.

^o The Tutankhamun nomen is not well erased.

^p There is some damage visible, but apparently no recarving of Horemheb's name, e.g., the quail chick of Tutankhamun's nomen is unaltered. However, the pecked and roughened surface suggests that Horemheb's name was possibly added entirely in plaster.

^q Traces of a reversed *dsw*-sign are clearly visible; for a detail photograph, see pl. 226B.

^r Tutankhamun's nomen is not well erased. For a detail photograph, see pl. 226C.

^s The head of Maat in the prenomen is noticeably larger than elsewhere.

^t There is no insignia on the knees of the Seth animal.

^u The right half of the nomen is in damage.

^v The face of Maat in the prenomen is hacked.

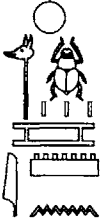
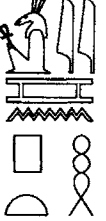
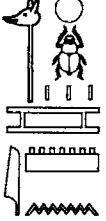
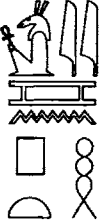
** No clearly detectable traces.

Figure 2. Orientation of Royal Names in the Upper Friezes of the Columns (*cont.*)

Amenhotep III untouched.⁴⁷ The upper friezes of columns 11, 12, 13, and 14 bear the original decoration of Sety I, altered only by the later defacing of the Seth animal in his nomen. The

entire Seth animal or, in some instances the face only, is hacked with no particular pattern observable in the choice of techniques. The scale of the Sety decoration is somewhat smaller than that of Tutankhamun (cf. pl. 226F), allowing for twelve or fourteen cartouches encircling each column, rather than ten. A graphic summary of the cartouches of the upper friezes is given in transliteration (original and usurpation

47. Compare the iconographic comments for *RILT* 1, pls. 58 (p. 23) and 110 (n. e on p. 40), regarding Tutankhamun's representation of the Amun bark as belonging to Amenhotep III.

															
PRENOMENS				NOMENS				PRENOMENS				NOMENS			
	<i>Facing Left</i>	<i>Facing Right</i>		<i>Facing Left</i>	<i>Facing Right</i>				<i>Facing Left</i>	<i>Facing Right</i>		<i>Facing Left</i>	<i>Facing Right</i>		
Column 2	3 ^a	3		3	2			Column 1	3	3		3	3		
Column 4	(3) ^b	(1)		1 (+ 2)	—			Column 3	(1)	4		2 (+ 1)	2 (+ 1)		
Column 6	2 (+ 1)	(1)		1	—			Column 5	1	2		1 (+ 1)	2		
Column 8	(2)	1		—	1 (+ 1 ^c)			Column 7	1 (+ 2)	2 (+ 1)		2 (+ 1 + 1 ^c)	1 (+ 1 ^c)		
Column 10	(2)	(2)		1 (+ 1 ^c)	(1 ^c)			Column 9	—	(1)		—	(1)		
Column 12	—	—		—	—			Column 11	1	(1)		1 (+ 1 + 1 ^c)	(1)		
Column 14	(1)	1		—	—			Column 13	1 (+ 1)	1 (+ 2)		3	1 (+ 1)		

^aNumber of occurrences. ^bParentheses indicate partial preservation. ^cOnly *Sty* or portions thereof are visible.

Figure 3. Orthographic Variations in the Royal Names of Sety II in the Lowest Band of Column Decoration

where such exists) and is arranged as the cartouches are found in the Colonnade Hall (fig. 1): even-numbered columns are on the left (= west row) and odd-numbered columns are on the right (= east row).

The arrangement of these cartouches is schematized in fig. 2. The name codes, consisting of letter-number combinations, represent the variant forms of the royal names, and the arrows below each code in the figure point in the direction in which the signs face. There are many inconsistencies; for example, columns 2 and 8 each have five right-facing and five left-facing cartouches, while on columns 5 and 9 all ten cartouches face right. The direction of the signs in the Amenhotep III cartouches on columns 3 and 4 varies from one cartouche to the next, while on all other columns, all right-facing and all left-facing cartouches are grouped together, so only twice do opposite-facing cartouches adjoin. In all instances, Horemheb followed the same direction as used for the original name. In the absence of any clearly detectable traces, two asterisks are shown in place of a name code. The gray vertical lines represent the raised “ridges” of the papyrus, which in some cases run through a cartouche (as they also do through the offering scenes of the third register). The *p.t*-sign in the schematic is included to show the relative position of the *p.t*-sign at the top of each of the great offering scenes in the third register, which more or less face the axis of the hall. For additional comments, see the notes following each coded schematic.

The second band of column decoration belongs to Sety II, usurped from Merneptah (for the variants of the royal names, see pl. 194). The layout follows that of the earlier decorative band of Ramesses II below: two vertically oriented cartouches facing the processional way, with the royal titulary and horizontal cartouches encircling the column. In the paired cartouches along the axis, the signs of the nomen and prenomen consistently face south toward the sanctuary of the temple; thus, in the horizontal band, the prenomen is on the north side of the column and the nomen on the south.

Below the offering scenes, the lowermost band of decoration contains the names and epithets of Ramesses II. Two large vertical cartouches with prenomen and nomen face the processional way, and the king's titulary and horizontal cartouches encircle the column. The orientation of the text is in contrast to the inscriptions of Merneptah/Sety II. In the paired cartouches and in the horizontal band, the prenomen of the king always appears on the left side (from the perspective of a viewer standing in the processional axis) and the nomen on the right. On the other hand, while the vertical prenomen consistently faces to the right, the vertical nomen faces to the left on the east columns and to the right on the west columns.

The cartouches tucked among the overlapping tips of the sheathing of the stalk belong to Sety II, who usurped all but one from Merneptah, on column 9 (see fig. 4).⁴⁸ Nomens and prenomen alternate with each other and they are evenly spaced, with one prenomen squarely facing the processional way and another squarely facing the exterior wall. Sety II's prenomen appears in two forms: on columns on the west side of the hall, the sun disk of *Wsr-mꜣ.t-Rꜥ* is positioned to the right of the *wsr*-sign, above the *hpr*-beetle; on east side columns, the disk is centered at the top of the cartouche, above both the *wsr*- and *hpr*-signs (see fig. 3). The form of the nomen is uniform on all columns, except for one right-facing cartouche on column 2 (*Sty Mr-ḫmn* as opposed to *Sty Mr-n-Pth*; see fig. 4).⁴⁹ There is

48. Otherwise, traces of the original Merneptah prenomen are most visible in cartouches on columns 3 (southeast side), 6 (west), 10 (northeast), 11 (southeast), and 13 (northeast and southeast). Of these, column 13 (northeast) preserves the greatest number of traces, parts of all of *Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ Mr-ḫmn*. For more on the usurpation of Merneptah's royal titles by Sety I in the Colonnade Hall, see the epigraphic commentary to pls. 143A and 156.

49. As in the case of the cartouches of the second band of decoration, the twisted-flax sign in *Pth* is sometimes shown with three loops, sometimes with only two. The two-looped twisted-flax sign may be a late Ramesside form; see M. Ciccarello, *The Graffito of Pinutem I in the Tomb of Ramesses XI*, Theban Royal Tomb Project, The Brooklyn Museum Theban Expedition, unpublished report (1979 [date uncertain]), notes on pp. 15–17.

Column 2

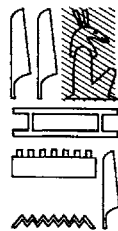
Column 9 (northeast side)
(original to Merneptah, no usurpation)

Figure 4. Anomalous Occurrences of the Royal Names in the Lowest Band of Column Decoration

no uniform pattern of orientation for these cartouches. For example, on columns 1, 7, and 13, the prenomen closest to the central axis have right (south)-facing hieroglyphs and those closest to the exterior wall have left (south)-facing hieroglyphs; but on column 3, right-facing hieroglyphs occur in prenomen facing the wall as well as the axis. In many instances the orientation of signs cannot be determined—and are therefore not included in the tallies in fig. 3—because of damage to the lower portions of the column shafts or because the cartouches are in areas that have been obscured by modern cement.

Above the decorated stalks of the papyrus columns are five horizontal binding bands and the campaniform capital, representing the papyrus umbel. The filiform rays of the papyrus umbel are represented in a carved and painted motif that incorporates the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, alternating lotus and papyrus (see the detail of the capital of column 8, pl. 227B).⁵⁰

The columns are surmounted by abaci, on which the architrave blocks rest. On the side of each abacus facing the central aisle of the Colonnade Hall is carved a single horizontal cartouche with signs oriented south, toward the interior of the temple (fig. 5). As in the drawings of the architraves, the line weights of the abaci drawings indicate the style of carving (cf. pl. 196A). The presence of the prenomen of Tutankhamun on the abaci of columns 1 and 2, as well as the prenomen of Amenhotep III on the abaci of columns 3 and 4, supports the conclusion that the carving of the architraves of the Colonnade Hall began from the north during the reign of Tutankhamun. The prenomen and nomen of Sety I, who completed the carving of the architraves and abaci, alternate in pairs on the abaci of columns 5 through 14.

PLATE 179. SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF COLUMN 8

For general remarks on the decoration of the columns, see the commentary for pl. 178.

TRANSLATION

UPPER CARTOUCHE FRIEZE

Djeserkheperure-Setepenre, Horemheb-Merenamun^a

UPPER PAIR OF CARTOUCHES FACING CENTRAL PASSAGE

Userkheperure-Meramun, Sety-Merneptah^b

UPPER HORIZONTAL TEXT BANDS

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun,^b beloved of Ptah, lord of *maat*. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah,^b beloved of Sekhmet, the great, <beloved> of Ptah.

LOWER PAIR OF CARTOUCHES FACING CENTRAL PASSAGE

Usermaatse-Setepenre, Ramesses-Meramun

LOWER HORIZONTAL TEXT BANDS

¹Live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of *maat*,^c king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatse-Setepenre. ²Live the Horus: mighty bull, beloved of *maat*, son of Re, Ramesses-Meramun.

LOWER CARTOUCHE FRIEZE

Userkheperure-Meramun, Sety-Merneptah^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe cartouches of Horemheb have been usurped from Tutankhamun.

^bThe cartouches of Sety II have been usurped from Merneptah.

^cIn this position on column 10, the seated *maat* figure occupies the full height of the text band and is followed by the *mr*-hoe. For the same orthography, see also pl. 178, n. *b*, above.

PLATE 180. THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹[Offering ointme]nt^a for Amun that he may make “given life”

ABOVE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, king of the god[s, foremost of] ^{3–4}his noble Opet. ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to y[ou ...] ⁶[(I) have] give[n to you ...]”

ABOVE MUT

⁷Mut, lady of heaven, mistress ⁸of all the gods. ⁹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, you having appeared in glory upon the throne of Horus [...]”

50. Compare Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, pl. 40c, the lower of the two examples at upper left.

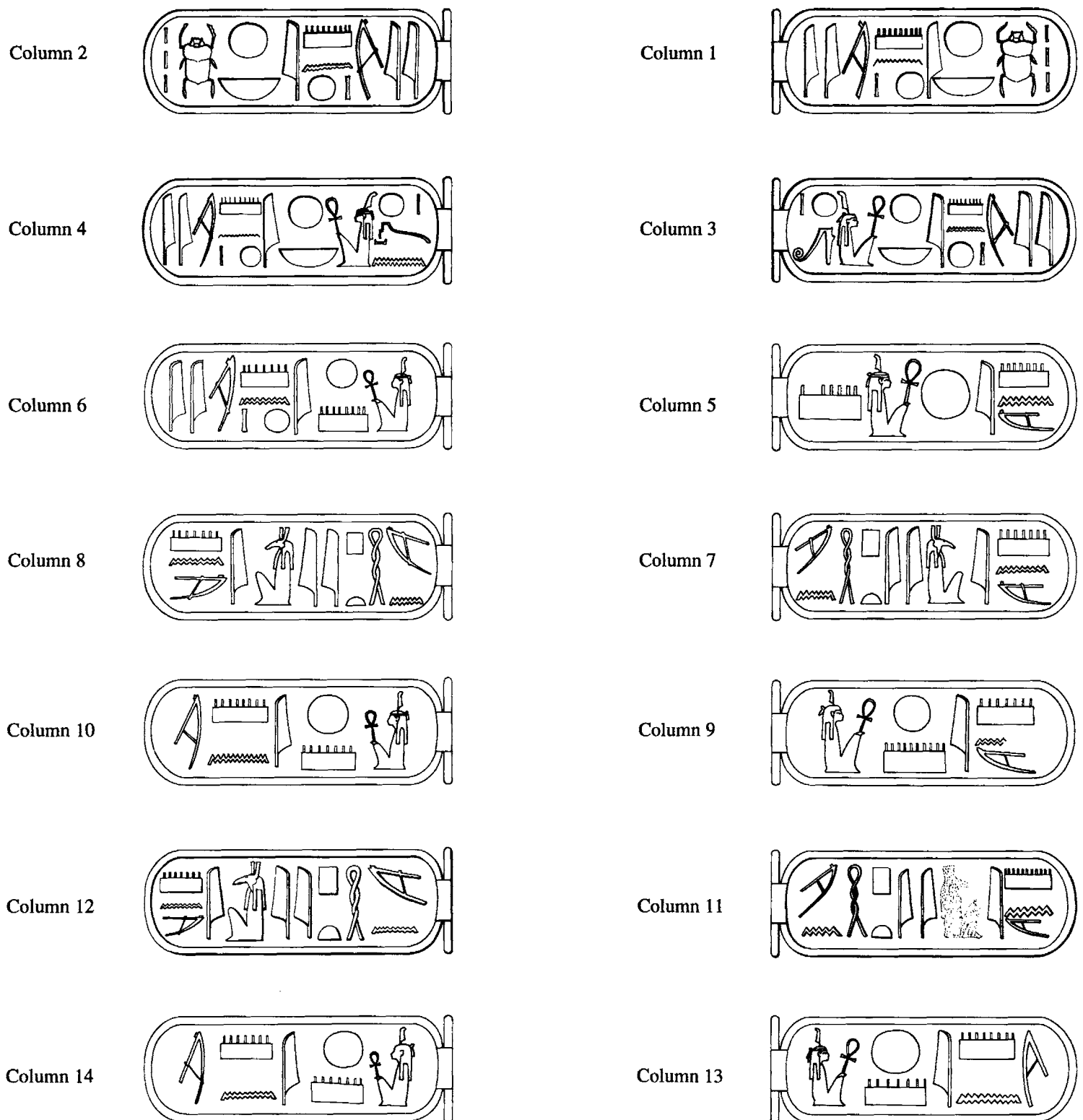


Figure 5. Royal Names on the Abaci of the Colonnade Hall (Drawing by Johnson)

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE VULTURE

¹⁰Nekhbet, the bright (one) of Hierakonpolis, mistress of the gods, ¹¹as she gives life and dominion ¹²and as she gives all life, stability, and dominion ¹³like Re eternally.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

¹⁴The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, ¹⁵Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans.^b

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁶The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,] ¹⁷son of Re, Horemheb-Merenamun,^c ¹⁸[given life like R]e.

BEHIND THE KING

¹⁹The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds him like Re.

BETWEEN AMUN-RE AND THE KING

²⁰[Renewal of the monument which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Djeserkheperure-Setepenre did for his father]^d Amun, being the monument of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRestoring [*h**nk m md*].*t*. The rightmost of the two signs surviving below the blockline is certainly a loaf-*t*. Although the relative widths of these fragmentary signs suggest the reading *h**tp*,

the king's pose precludes a restoration *ir.t htp-di-nswt* or *ir.t dbh-htp*, because in both of these scenes the king is consistently portrayed with one hand raised and extended (see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 97; and *MH* 5, pl. 275); this gesture is described in W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, Ägyptologische Forschungen 24 (Glückstadt, 1968), pp. 270–71 and 296. The other hand is lowered, sometimes holding a censer; compare A. M. Calverly and M. F. Broome, ed. A. H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos 4: The Second Hypostyle Hall* (London and Chicago, 1958), pl. 7; *Khonsu* 1, pls. 16, 102, and 108; and Helck, *Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II.* 2, pl. 19, Bild 20. The width of the left fragmentary sign suits the jar determinative of *md.t* (for the arrangement of the signs, see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 224; and Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume*, pl. 175, l. 7). For the parallelism of this column with column 14, which supports this reading of the fragmentary hieroglyphs, see the epigraphic commentary below.

^bSuperimposed over the Horus name of Tutankhamun, *twt msw.t* “fair of birth.”

^cAlthough no traces of the earlier names survive, the sunken interiors of the cartouches show them to have been usurped from Tutankhamun, as commonly throughout the Colonnade Hall.

^dThis restoration is based on column 2 (pl. 181, l. 21). Columns 1 and 2 are the only columns in the Colonnade Hall bearing renewal inscriptions (cf. the renewal text of Tutankhamun in *RILT* 1, pl. 119, l. 21).

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of an earlier version of the goddess' headdress suggest that Mut originally wore a simple wig similar to that of Isis on pl. 186. The trace to the right of the final vulture wing appears to belong to an earlier, abortive attempt, in which the wing was deemed too wide and short; compare the evident problems with the headdress, wig lappet, collar, and dress strap of Mut on pl. 181.

The scenes of the king performing cultic actions on the columns are by and large mirror images, each column in the west row having a counterpart in the east row. On the columns the king is shown:

West Row	East Row
2 Offering wine	1 Offering ointment
4 Thurifying and libating	3 Thurifying and libating
6 Offering ointment	5 Offering ointment
8 Offering flowers	7 Offering flowers
10 Libating	9 Libating
12 Elevating offerings	11 Elevating offerings
14 Offering ointment	13 Offering <i>maat</i>

Only the pairs of columns at each end of the colonnade are not mirror images. Nevertheless, columns 2 and 13, at opposite corners of the colonnade, may be related: the offering of *maat*

can be associated with the offering of wine, the two offerings sometimes appearing in juxtaposition.⁵¹

If columns 2 and 13 form a pair, then column 1 must represent the counterpart of column 14. Since the gesture of the king and the surviving traces of the signs of the caption on column 1 suit an interpretation of this scene as the offering of ointment, the fact that both columns 1 and 14 depict the offering of ointment supports viewing these two columns as a pair. One may conclude that the offering scenes on the columns in the Colonnade Hall represent a series of mirror images bounded by chiastically arranged pairs; for the use of chiasm in the arrangement of offering scenes in Egyptian temples, see J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna: Die Reliefs und Inschriften* 1, AV 20 (Mainz, 1977), p. 28.

PLATE 181. THE KING OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Giving wine [to] ²Amun-Re that he may make ³“given life like Re forever and ever.”

ABOVE AMUN-RE

⁴[A]mun[-Re, lord of the th]rones of the two lands, lord of heaven, [who resides in] ^{5–6}his noble Opet. ⁷Words spoken: [(I) have given] to you all life, stability, and dominion, and all health on my pa[rt]. ⁸[(I) have given to] you all valor and all victory on my [part].”

ABOVE MUT

⁹Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of ¹⁰all the gods. ¹¹Words spoken: “(I) have given to you millions of years and myriads of jubilees, you [appearing in glory] as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, every foreign land being beneath your soles.”

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE VULTURE

¹²Wadjet, lady of heaven, as she gives life, ¹³as [she] gives [life], stability, and dominion ¹⁴like Re every day.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

¹⁵The [liv]ing *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, ¹⁶Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans.^a

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁷The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Djeser]kheper[u]re-Setep[en]re, ¹⁸son of Re, Horemheb-[Mer]enamu[n], ¹⁹[given life like] Re.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁰The protection of all life, stability, and dominion surrounds him like Re for ever and ever.

51. See E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57 (Chicago, 1997), p. 47.

BEFORE AMUN-RE

²¹[Renew]al of the monume[nt which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt] Djeser[kheperu]re-[Setep]en[re^b did] for his father Amun, being the monument of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre.

ON THE KING'S SPORRAN

²²Nebkheperure^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aSuperimposed over the Horus name of Tutankhamun, *twt msw.t* "fair of birth."

^bUsurped from Tutankhamun.

^cThe prenomen of Tutankhamun, in the middle of the uraei at the bottom of the king's sporran, was not usurped by Horemheb (cf. pl. 226E).

PLATE 182. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A
LIBATION TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN
THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Thurifying and [making ²a liba]tion to Amun[-Re].

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

³Amun-Re-Ka[mutef], foremo[st of] his ⁴Opet, who is upon ⁵the great dais.^a ⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you [all] life, stability, [and dominion], all [heal]th, and all joy on my part. ⁷(I) have given to you the kingsh[ip ...] ⁸the stren[gth of the two lords] being throughout [your limbs, and their shares] ⁹[in] life and dominion, the fla[tlands ... sub]dued beneath your soles.^b ¹⁰(I) have given to you val[or and vic]tory against every foreign land.)"^c

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

¹¹The protection of all life, stability, and dominion, all health, [and all joy surroun]ds him [like Re for ever] and ever.

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUNET

¹²Words spoken by Amunet [residing in Karnak:] "(O my) beloved son Nebmaatre, ¹³(I) have united for you the two lands in peace. ¹⁴(I) have given to you end[uring and excel-lent] monuments. ¹⁵(I) have given to you repeated victory. ¹⁶(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all [...]"

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE FALCON

¹⁷The Behdetite, ¹⁸as he gives life, [...], and stability ¹⁹like Re, ²⁰as <he> gives all life, stability, dominion, and health.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²¹The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ²²Horus: mighty bull, appearing in *maat*.

ABOVE THE KING

²³The good god, lord [of the two lands,] Nebmaatre, ²⁴son of Re, lord of glorious app[earances, Amen]hotep-Hekawaset, ²⁵given life like Re, ²⁶[whom] Amun [has preferred to] any (other) king.^d

BEHIND THE KING

²⁷The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds [him] like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThis series of epithets appears in *Khonsu* 2, pl. 114B, ll. 3–4.

^bFor the speech of Amun-Re-Kamutef, see the utterance of the same deity on pl. 183, ll. 7–9, and pl. 186, ll. 7–8. The trace at the bottom of l. 8 is the bookroll determinative of *psš.t*. The lacuna at the top of l. 9 allows a restoration of the suffix pronoun *.sn* without plural strokes, followed by the flat *m*.

^cFor the suggested restoration, see pl. 184, l. 5.

^dFor the restoration of this epithet, see pl. 183, l. 26.

PLATE 183. THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A
LIBATION TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN
THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Thuri[fy]ing and ²making a libation to Amun-Kamut[ef] that he may make "given life" like Re every day.

ABOVE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

³Amun-Re-Kamutef, foremost of his ⁴Opet, who is upon ⁵the great dais. ⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy on my part. ⁷(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands, the strength of the two lords throughout ⁸your limbs, and their shares of life and dominion, ⁹while the flatlands, hill countries, the south, and the north are subdued under your soles.^a ¹⁰(I) have given to you v[alor and vic]tory against every foreign la[nd]."

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

¹¹The [protection] of all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy surrounds him like Re forev[er].

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUNET

¹²Words spoken by Amunet, who resides in Karnak, to (my) son his (sic) beloved,^b Nebmaatre: "(I) have given to you upon (sic) the throne of his father,^c ¹³the lord of glorious appearances, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, having appeared in glory

¹⁴upon the Horus throne of the living ¹⁵like Re forever and ever. ¹⁶(I) have given to you all life, dominion, and all health like Re [...]"

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE FALCON

¹⁷The Behdetite, ¹⁸as he gives life and dominion ¹⁹like Re, ²⁰and as he gives all life, stability, dominion, and all health.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²¹The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ²²Horus: mighty bull, appearing in *maat*.

ABOVE THE KING

²³The good god, lord of the two lands, [Neb]maat, ²⁴son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, ²⁵[given life] like Re, ²⁶whom Amun has preferred to any (other) king.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁷The protection of all life, stability, dominion, and all health surrounds him like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare pl. 182, ll. 7–9, and pl. 186, ll. 7–8.

^bFor the confusion in pronouns in l. 12, see the speech of the goddess Nebet-Hetepet to Ramesses II: *sꜣ(.i) mry.s* "(my) son her beloved" (Leblanc and el-Sayed Ismail, *Ramesseum IX-2: Piliers «osiriaques»*, pl. 17).

^cThere is a conflation here of two statements such as *dī.n(.i) tw hr s.t it.k* "(I) have set you upon the throne of your father" and *dī.n(.i) n.k nhḥ hr s.t it.k* "(I) have given to you an eternity as king upon the throne of your father." There is also a switch from the second to the third person in the qualitative ending of *hꜥ.w* at the end of l. 13.

PLATE 184. THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO
AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Offering ointment.

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides in ^{3–4}[his] noble Opet. ⁵Words spoken: "(I) have given to you valor and victory against every foreign land like Re. ⁶(I) have given to you my lifetime upon earth as king of Upper and Lower Egypt. ⁷(I) have given to you all flatlands and every hill country assembled under your soles like Re every day. ⁸[(I) have granted for] you that your monument endure like heaven, and all [victo]ry against every foreign land."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁹The protection of life, stability, and dominion surrounds him like Re [...] eternally.

ABOVE AND BEFORE HATHOR

¹⁰Words spoken by Hathor at the head of Thebes, lady of heaven, mistress of the go<ds>: "O my beloved son, Djeserkheperure-[Setepen]re,^a ¹¹(I) have given to you all life and dominion. ¹²(I) have given to you all joy. ¹³[(I) have given to you ...] forever."

BEFORE AND BELOW THE VULTURE

¹⁴Nekhbet, ¹⁵as she gives all life and dominion, and all health like Re.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

¹⁶The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ¹⁷Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans.^b

ABOVE THE KING

¹⁸The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^a ¹⁹son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,^a ²⁰given life like Re, ²¹whose strength Re has magnified, whom he appointed to be ²²sole lord upon earth.

BEHIND THE KING

²³The protection of all life and dominion, and all health surrounds him like [Re ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe names are usurped from Tutankhamun; although no traces survive in the cartouche in l. 10, the surface has clearly been taken back for recarving.

^bSuperimposed over the Horus name of Tutankhamun, *tw t msw.t* "fair of birth."

PLATE 185. THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO
AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Offering oint[ment].

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, primeval one of the two lands, lord of heaven, ³ruler of ^{4–5}Karnak. ⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands, you having appeared in glory as king of Upper and Lower Egypt. ⁷(I) have given to you an eternity as king of the two lands like Re every day. ⁸(I) have given to you all life and dominion and all health on my part. ⁹(I) have given to you very many jubilees, you having appeared in glory upon the throne of your [fath]er, Re."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

¹⁰The protection of all life and dominion surrounds him [...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE HATHOR

¹¹Words spoken by Hathor, who is at the head of Thebes, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: "O my beloved son, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^a ¹²(I) have given to you life and dominion. ¹³(I) have given to you all joy. ¹⁴(I) have given to you all provisions. ¹⁵(I) have given to you every offering. ¹⁶(I) have given to you val[or against ...] land [...]"

BEHIND HATHOR

¹⁷The protection of all life surrounds her forever and ever.

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE VULTURE

¹⁸Wadjet, ¹⁹as she gives all life.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²⁰The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ²¹Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans.^b

ABOVE THE KING

²²The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^a ²³son of Re, his beloved, Horemheb-Merenamun,^a ²⁴given life forever, ²⁵the image of Re, foremost of the two lands, whom ²⁶Atum chose out of a million.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁷The protection of all life, stability, and dominion surrounds him like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe cartouches are usurped from Tutankhamun.

^bSuperimposed over the Horus name of Tutankhamun, *twt msw.t* "fair of birth."

PLATE 186. THE KING OFFERING FLOWERS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Presenting [every sort of flower to Amun-Re^a ... that he may make "given life"] like Re.

ABOVE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

²Amun-Re-Kamutef, ³lord of heaven, ruler ⁴of Kamak, foremost of his Opet, who is at the he[ad of the ennead^b ...]

⁵Words spoken: "[I] have] giv[en to you] all [life and] dominion, all health, and all joy like Re. ⁶(I) have given [to you] an eternity as king of the two lands like Re. ⁷(I) have given to you the kingship [of the two lands,] the stren[gth] of the two l[ords] througho[ut] all [your limbs], ⁸and their shares of life and dominion, while the flatlands, hill countries, the so[uth and the north, are subdued under your soles]."^c

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

⁹The protection of life [...] forever.

ABOVE AND BEFORE ISIS

¹⁰Words spoken by Is[is], the god's mother, lady [of heaven, mistress of the two lands: "O (my) bel]oved bodily [son], lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^d ¹¹(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion. ¹²(I) have given to you all joy. ¹³(I) have given to [you] all provisions. ¹⁴(I) have given to you every offering. ¹⁵[(I) have given to you ...] like [Re] forever."

BEFORE AND BELOW THE FALCON

¹⁶The Behdetite, ¹⁷the great god who has come forth from the horizon, ¹⁸as he gives all life and dominion, all joy, all health, and all joy [like] Re [...]

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

¹⁹The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ²⁰Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans.^e

ABOVE THE KING

²¹[The king of Upper and Lower Egyp]t, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^d ²²son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,^d ²³given life like Re, ²⁴whom Amun-Re has caused to appear ²⁵upon his throne.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁶The protection of all life, [all] health [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe restoration is based on pl. 187, l. 1.

^bFor Amun as *hry-tp psd.t*, see pls. 167, l. 6, and 190, l. 7.

^cFor the restoration, see pl. 183, ll. 7–9 (cf. also pl. 182, ll. 7–9).

^dThe cartouches are usurped from Tutankhamun.

^eNo trace of the Horus name of Tutankhamun survives within the *serekh*, but the surface of the stone in this area is much abraded.

PLATE 187. THE KING OFFERING FLOWERS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Offering every sort of flower ²to Amun-Re.

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

³Amun-Re-Kamutef, lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes, ⁴foremost of ⁵his Opet. ⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy on my part. ⁷(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re ⁸and the years of Atum, you appearing in glory ⁹as king of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the ¹⁰Horus throne of the living like Re forev[er and e]ver.^a ¹¹[(I) have given to you ...]"^b

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

¹²The protection of all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy surrounds him like Re forever and [ev]er.

ABOVE AND BEFORE ISIS

¹³Words spoken by Isis the great, the god's mother, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands: "O (my) son, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheper[ure]-Setep[en]re,^c (I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands, all foreign countries being subdued under your soles like your father Re forever. ¹⁴(I) have given to you all life and dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, and all victory forever and ever. ¹⁵(I) have given to you all victory. ¹⁶(I) have given to you all valor. ¹⁷(I) have given to [you] all offerings. ¹⁸(I) have given to you all provisions."

BEHIND ISIS

¹⁹The protection of all life, [stability], and dominion surrounds her like Re forever.

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE FALCON

²⁰The Behdetite, ²¹as he gives all life and dominion, ²²all health, and all joy like Re every day.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²³The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ²⁴Horus: mighty bull, effective of plans.^d

ABOVE THE KING

²⁵The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Djeserkheperure-Setepenre,^c ²⁶son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Horemheb-Merenamun,^c ²⁷given life like Re, ²⁸whom Amun has preferred ²⁹to any (other) king.

BEHIND THE KING

³⁰The protection of all life, stability, and dominion surrounds him like Re.

CARTOUCHE ON THE SPORRAN OF THE KING

³¹Nebkheperure^e

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe lengthy lacuna between the words *dt* and *nḥḥ* can only have been filled by *hn*^c and a complete writing of *nḥḥ* with the *nḥ*-bird.

^bThe traces do not allow one to restore the line with certainty; they do, however, suit a restoration such as *ḥ^c n R^c rnp.wt.f m ḥq3 t3.wy* "the lifetime of Re and his years as ruler of the two lands" (see pl. 161, l. 4, and pl. 188, l. 7).

^cUsurped from Tutankhamun.

^dSuperimposed over the Horus name of Tutankhamun, *twt msw.t* "fair of birth."

^eExcept for the sun disk, the signs of the prenomen have been erased in preparation for recarving but are still legible.

PLATE 188. THE KING POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF NEITH

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Making a libation to his father [... that he might make] "given life" [...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of Karnak, ³lord of eternity, who resides in ⁴his Opet, ⁵lord of heaven, ruler of Thebes. ⁶Words spoken: "(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands as king of Upper and Lower Egypt. ⁷(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and his years as ruler of the two lands. ⁸(I) have given to you the throne of Geb, the office of Atum, and the power of the two lords and the two ladies ⁹as reward for [this ... mo]nu[ment which you have made for me]."

BEHIND AMUN-RE

¹⁰The protection of all life and dominion, all he[al]th, and all joy surrounds [him...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE NEITH

¹¹Words spoken by Neith the great, the god's mother, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: "O (my) ¹²beloved bodily son, lord of the two lands, Nebkheperure,^a my heart is satisfied with what you have done, ¹³(I) having received this beautiful monument which you have made for (me). ¹⁴(I) have given to you all flatlands, every hill country, ¹⁵and the nine bows assembled under your soles like Re every day. ¹⁶(I) have given to you the kingship of your father Re [...] joy."^b

BEHIND NEITH

¹⁷All life surrounds her like Re forever.^c

BEFORE THE VULTURE

¹⁸Nekhet, the bright (one) of Hierakonpolis.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

¹⁹The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the ²⁰robing room, he having made "given life, stability, and dominion" like Re. ²¹Horus: mighty bull, appearing in truth.

ABOVE THE KING

²²The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre, ²³son of Re, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, ²⁴given life like Re, ²⁵the image of Re, foremost of the two lands,^d whom Amun has preferred ²⁶to any (other) king ²⁷like Re.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁸The protection of life surrounds him [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aUnusually, the prenomen of Tutankhamun is intact; see the epigraphic comments, below, and the detail photograph on pl. 226A.

^bThe lacuna might have contained [*rn̄p.wt Hr m*] *ẓw.t-ib* “[and the years of Horus in] joy” (see *RILT* 1, pl. 119, l. 5). Other restorations are also possible, e.g., *n̄h̄ m nswt d̄.t m ẓw.t-ib* “eternity as king and everlastingness in joy” (*RILT* 1, pl. 119, l. 7).

^cReading the *‘nh̄* which the goddess holds in her lowered hand as the beginning of the protection formula; compare also pl. 190, l. 19 and n. c to pl. 139. Alternatively, it is possible that the initial signs were omitted behind the goddess’ crown; compare the arrangement of signs behind the crown of Mut on pl. 193. For the possible omission of *‘nh̄* in formulae such as *<‘nh̄> m̄ R̄*, see A. Gasse, “Amény, un porte-parole sous le règne de Sésostri I^{er},” *BIFAO* 88 (1988): 85, n. c, citing A. I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi 1: Text* (Warminster, 1980), p. 20 (insec. no. 7).

^dThe word *tẓ.wy* is mistakenly written with two water signs owing to the similarity in hieratic of the *n* and *tẓ*-signs.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Horemheb did not alter the prenomen of Tutankhamun that appears in l. 12 (cf. pl. 226A), within the speech of the goddess Neith, possibly because the cartouches directly over the image of the king are those of Amenhotep III; the same may be surmised for the *tw.t msw.t* name of Tutankhamun in the *serekh* of the royal *ka* on column 10 (see pl. 189, below). These subtle blurrings of the identity of the royal figure on columns 9 and 10 may reflect not confusion but rather an intentional association of Tutankhamun with Amenhotep III (cf. also the epigraphic comment to pl. 149, above) and an expression of the eternal nature of the royal *ka*.⁵² Another indication that columns 9 and 10 mark some theologically significant change is the first appearance on these columns of the phrase *ir(.n).f d̄i ‘nh̄*, etc., in the text above the royal *ka*. One should also note that the device of the *sw*-sign within the *kẓ*-arms, a writing of *kẓ-nswt* “royal *ka*,” also appears on the heads of the standards held by the royal *ka*-figure only on columns 9–14.

PLATE 189. THE KING POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF NEITH

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Making a libation [to] Amu[n-Re that he may make “given life”] like Re [...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of ³Karnak, ⁴who resides in ⁵his beautiful Opet. ⁶Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life, stability, dominion, all health, and all joy on my part. ⁷(I) have given to you your lifetime and eternity as king of the two lands on my part. ⁸(I) have given to you all valor and all victory like Re on my part.

⁹(I) have given you the kingship of the two lands, [all valor and all vi]ctory, you having appeared in glory as ruler of the two [lands].”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

¹⁰The protection of [all] life, stability, dominion, and health [surrounds him] like [Re] forever [and ever].

ABOVE AND BEFORE NEITH

¹¹Words spoken by Neith the great, the god’s mother, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: “O (my) ¹²beloved bodily son, lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre, (my) heart is satisfied with what you have made, ¹³(I) having received this beautiful monument which you have made for (me). ¹⁴(I) have given to you all flatlands, every hill country, ¹⁵and the nine bows assembled under your soles like Re every day. ¹⁶(I) have given to you valor against [the south, vi]ctory against the north, and every [foreign land under] your [soles] forever and ever.”

BEFORE THE VULTURE

¹⁷Nekhbet, the bright (one) of [Hierakonpolis],^a ¹⁸as she gives all life ¹⁹forever.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²⁰The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the ²¹robing room, he having made “given life, stability, and dominion” like Re, ²²Horus: mighty bull, fair of birth.^b

ABOVE THE KING

²³The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre, ²⁴son of Re, Amenhotep-Hekawaset, ²⁵given life.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁶The protection of [all] life [...] surrounds [him] for[ever] and ever.^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe *t* of *h̄d̄.t* is written beneath the sign for Hierakonpolis, an early attestation of this orthography (cf. *Wb.* 3, 210/20).

^bThe Horus name of Tutankhamun is intact; see the epigraphic comments to pl. 188, above.

^cThe traces and spacing suit a restoration: *s̄ẓ ‘nh̄ [... nb] h̄ẓ[.f nb] n [d̄.t r] n̄h̄h̄*.

PLATE 190. THE KING ELEVATING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF SEKHMET

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Elevating ²offerings [to] A[mu]n-Re that he may make “given life” [like] Re [...]

52. Compare the discussion of the intensification of *ka* imagery in Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*,” pp. 276–81.

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

³Amun-Re-Kamut[ef], who is upon ⁴⁻⁵his great dais, ⁶lord of heaven, foremost of his noble ⁷Opet, who is at [the head of] the enn[ead ...] ⁸Words spoken: “(I) have given to you eternity as king and everlastingness in life, stability, and dominion. ⁹(I) have given to you val[or against] the south and victory against the north like Re. ¹⁰I have given^a to you my office, my place, [my] th[rone], my lifetime, [and (my) perio]d of existen[ce upon ea]rth forever.”

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

¹¹The protection of all life, stability, dominion, all health, and all joy surrounds him [like] Re [forev]er and [ev]er.

ABOVE AND BEFORE SEKHMET

¹²Words spoken by [Se]khmet the great, beloved of Ptah, lady of heaven, great of [mag]ic: ¹³“O my beloved bodily son, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre, my heart is satisfied ¹⁴and glad with what you have made, and I am joyful ¹⁵at seeing your monument. You have illuminated Opet ¹⁶anew, it having been made brilliant like the horizon of heaven. (I) have given to you ¹⁷the lifetime of Re, you having appeared in glory upon the throne of Horus. ¹⁸(I) have given to you the kingship of the two lands, the [streng]th of the two lords throughout your limbs, and [their] share(s) [in life and dominion].”^b

BEHIND SEKHMET

¹⁹All life surrounds her [like Re for]ever.^c

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE FALCON

²⁰The Behdetite, ²¹as he gives all life, stability, and dominion, and all joy on his part.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²²The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, lord of might, ²³foremost of the palace, [forem]ost of the robing room, that he may make “given life” eternally, ²⁴Horus: mighty bull, who enlivens the two [lands].

ABOVE THE KING

²⁵The god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, Menmaatre, ²⁶the bodily son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, [Set]y-Merneptah, ²⁷given life [like] Re, ²⁸the image of Re, foremost of the [two] lands, whom Amun himself selected as ²⁹king, ³⁰beloved of Nekhbet, mistress of Upper Egypt.^d

BEHIND THE KING

³¹The protection of life, stability, dominion, heal[th ...] surrounds him like Re...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a*dī.ī* represents a reduction from *dī.n.ī*; on the reduced *sdm.n.f*, see *RILT* 1, p. 23, n. *e* to pl. 59; note also S. I. Groll, “*Tw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES* 28 (1969): 184–91; and L. Depuydt, *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency: On Relationships be-*

tween Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems (Oxford, 1993), pp. 158, 162, n. 61, 174, and 198–200

^bCompare pl. 183, ll. 7–8.

^cSee n. *c* to pl. 188, l. 17.

^dOnly columns 11 and 12, the northernmost of the four decorated by Sety I, contain the names of the protective deities of Upper and Lower Egypt in close association with the titles of the king.

PLATE 191. THE KING ELEVATING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Elevat[ing] ²offerings [to] Amun-Re, that he might make “given life” [...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

³Amun-Re-Kamutef, high of plumes, who boasts of <his> beauty,^a ⁴Onuris^b who is content ⁵with victory, ⁶great^c god, foremost of Karnak, ⁷lord of heaven, who resides in his Opet, who is upon his great dais. ⁸Words spoken: “(I) have given to you my office, my place, my throne, my lifetime, and (my) period of existence upon earth. ⁹(I) have given to you that your monuments endure like heaven and your lifetime like (that of) the sun disk within it. ¹⁰(I) have given to you all valor and victory, all health, and all jo[y] on my pa[rt ...]”

BEHIND AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF

¹¹The protection of life, stability, dominion [...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE HATHOR

¹²Words spoken by Hathor, residing in Djeseret, lady of heaven, mistress of the gods: ¹³“O my beloved bodily son, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre, I am joyful through love of [you], ¹⁴and I rejoice [at] seeing your beauty. ¹⁵(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum, ¹⁶you having appeared in glory as king upon the throne of Horus for ever and ever. ¹⁷(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion [...]

BEHIND HATHOR

¹⁸The protection of life, dominion, [...]

BEFORE AND BEHIND THE FALCON

¹⁹The Behdetite, ²⁰as he gives all life like Re.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²¹The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, foremost of the *kas* of the living, ²²that he may make “given all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy” like Re, ²³Horus: mighty bull, who enlivens the two lands.

ABOVE THE KING

²⁴The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, Menmaat^{re}, ²⁵the bodily son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, ²⁶given life like Re, ²⁷[the image of] Re, [foremo]st of the two lands, whom ²⁸Amun-Re selected, ²⁹beloved of Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt.

BEHIND THE KING

³⁰The protection of all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, surrounds him like Re.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor this epithet, see H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, RAPH 2 (Cairo, 1931), pp. 138–39.

^bIn this context it is appropriate that Amun is called Onuris. On both columns 11 and 12 Amun-Re-Kamutef is accompanied by a goddess who represents the eye of the sun (Sekhmet on column 11, Hathor on the matching column 12); compare n. c to pl. 149; *RILT* 1, p. 31, n. f to pl. 83; and Darnell, “Hathor Returns to Medamûd,” pp. 47–94. For an association of Amun and Onuris, see Assmann, *Re und Amun*, pp. 146–48, discussing the stela of Satepihu from This (*Urk.* 4, 518). The epithet *hṯp hr nḥt* is appropriate to Onuris as a warrior and hunter, retriever of the eye of the sun (see H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 59. Band, 1. u. 2. Abhandlung [Vienna, 1917], pp. 2–3 and 55).

^cThe *n* following 𓂏 is a mistake for the bookroll, apparently due to an erroneous transcription of hieratic.

PLATE 192. THE KING OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Presenting *ma[at]* to its lord, Amun-Re, that he may make “given life.”

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of Karnak, ³lord of heaven, foremost of ⁴his Opet. ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you that your monuments endure like heaven and your lifetime like that of the sun disk within it. ⁶(I) have given to you eternity as king of the two lands, and everlastingness as ruler of joy. ⁷(I) have given to you my office, my place, my throne, my lifetime, and (my) period of existence upon earth. ⁸(I) have given to you the lifetime of Re, the years of Atum, and every foreign land under your soles forev[er].”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁹The protection of life, stability, dominion, health [...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE MUT

¹⁰Words spoken by Mut the great, lady of Asheru: “O my beloved bodily ¹¹son, lord of the two lands, [Men]maat^{re}, I am joyful at seeing your beauty. ¹²(I) have given to you the flatlands in ¹³peace, while ¹⁴the banks of the Asiatic littoral^a have been subdued for you. ¹⁵(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion on my part.”

BEHIND MUT

¹⁶The protection of life, stability, dominion [...]

BEFORE THE VULTURE

¹⁷Nekhbet, the bright (one) of Hierakonpolis.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

¹⁸The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ¹⁹he having made “given life, stability, dominion,” he rejoicing like Re forever, ²⁰Horus: mighty bull, who enlivens the two lands.

ABOVE THE KING

²¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two [land]s, lord of might, Menmaat^{re}, ²²the bodily son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, ²³given life, stability, and dominion like Re, ²⁴the image of Re, foremost of the two lands, whom Amun has preferred ²⁵to any (other) king like Re.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁶<The protection of life, stability, and> dominion, all health, and [all] valor surround him like Re.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aMany studies have addressed the interpretation of the term *h3w-nbw*; for a selection of references, see C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, pp. 139–74; and E. Iversen, “Some Remarks on the *H3w-Nbw.t*,” *ZÄS* 114 (1987): 54–59.

PLATE 193. THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT

TRANSLATION

BEFORE THE KING

¹Presenting ointment to his father Amun-Re, that he may make “given life.”

ABOVE AND BEFORE AMUN-RE

²Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, chief of the gods, ³lord of heaven, ⁴foremost of his Opet. ⁵Words spoken: “(I) have given to you the kingship of Atum and the lifetime of Re in heaven. ⁶(I) have given to you millions of years and myriads of jubilees. ⁷(I) have given to you all valor, all victory, and all joy every day. ⁸(I) have given to you all life, stability, and dominion, and that your monuments continually endure in my temple, being steadfast in Karnak.”

BEHIND AMUN-RE

⁹The protection of life, stability, dominion, all h[ea]lth, and all joy surrounds him like [Re ...]

ABOVE AND BEFORE MUT

¹⁰Words spoken by Mut the great, lady of Asheru: "Welcome, welcome, my beloved son, ¹¹lord of the two lands, Menmaat, you have illumined Opet anew ¹²for its lord, Amun-Re. ¹³May he give to you the lifetime of Re and ¹⁴the years of Atum. ¹⁵(I) have given to you all flatlands, every hill country, and the nine bows bowing down at the pow[er] of your maj[esty]." ^a

BEHIND MUT

¹⁶The protection of all life, stability, and dominion surrounds her like Re forever.

BEFORE AND BELOW THE VULTURE

¹⁷Nekhbet, the bright (one) of Hierakonpolis, ¹⁸as <she> gives life ¹⁹like Re.

ABOVE THE ROYAL KA

²⁰The living *ka* of the king, lord of the two lands, foremost of the robing room, ²¹that he may make "given all life, stability, and dominion" like Re forever, ²²Horus: mighty [bull], who enlivens the two lands.

ABOVE THE KING

²³The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of might, Menmaat, ²⁴son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, ²⁵given life like Re, ²⁶the image of Re, foremost of the two lands, whom ²⁷Amun ²⁸himself ²⁶selected.

BEHIND THE KING

²⁹The protection of all life, [stability], dominion, and health, and all j[oy] surrounds him [...]

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the restoration, see pl. 197A, l. 2.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

For a parallel to the pattern of the feathers on the corslet of Amun, see G. Thausing and H. Goedicke, *Nofretari* (Graz, 1971), fig. 136.

PLATE 194. THE COLUMN TEXT BANDS OF SETY II

The drawings of the text bands are not facsimiles, but are to be considered measured hand copies; the missing portions of signs have been indicated in dashed line. The vertical dashed lines that traverse each band indicate the relative position of the ridges carved into the columns that serve to indicate the triangular shape of the natural papyrus stalk. The text bands on the east and west sides of the axis of the Colonnade Hall are arranged

symmetrically, as might be expected. The paired cartouches are always oriented to the south,⁵³ while in the horizontal text bands the signs face toward the axis of the colonnade, the prenomen of the king consistently appearing on the north side and the nomen on the south. For drawings of the text bands on columns 3 and 8, see the schematic drawings on pls. 178 and 179.

TRANSLATION

CENTRAL PAIR OF CARTOUCHES (ALL COLUMNS)

Userkheperure-Meremun, Sety-Merneptah^a

HORIZONTAL TEXTS

COLUMN 1

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, beloved^b of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

COLUMN 2

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-<Mer>a<mun>,^c beloved of Amun-Re. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Atum, lord of the two lands, the Heliopolitan.^d

COLUMN 3

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, beloved of Amun-Re. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

COLUMN 4

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, beloved of Amun-Re. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

COLUMN 5

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, beloved of Amun-Re.^e ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Amun-Re.

COLUMN 6

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, given life. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Amun-Re, ruler of Thebes.

COLUMN 7

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, beloved of Amun-Re. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, given life.

COLUMN 8

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meremun, beloved of Ptah, lord of *maat*. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Sekhmet, the great, beloved of Ptah.

53. In contrast to those of Ramesses II, whose vertical paired cartouches are oriented to face in toward each other.

COLUMN 9

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Khonsu.

COLUMN 10

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

COLUMN 11

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, ruler of the ennead. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Khonsu-Neferhotep.

COLUMN 12

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Sekhmet.

COLUMN 13

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

COLUMN 14

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkheperure-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods. ²Son of Re, Sety-Merneptah, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThroughout these texts, the names of Merneptah have been usurped by Sety II. The Seth figure is consistently hacked throughout, sometimes including the emblem held in the hand as well.

^bHere and elsewhere on these text bands, *mry* is written once and is shared by the epithets accompanying the prenomen and nomen.

^cCuriously, the prenomen of Sety II was never fully carved; there is no evidence of smoothing in this cartouche, nor are there any traces of the prenomen of Merneptah visible. The blank area within the cartouche seems to be original, uncarved surface.

^dFor reasons of symmetry the writing of the two lands as the heraldic plants is sandwiched between the elements of the epithet "the Heliopolitan."

^eHere and in column 14, the epithet is shared by both the prenomen and nomen.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Most of the Sety II cartouches contain traces of the original names of Merneptah (not shown in these drawings). On column 13, the horizontal nomen was taken back more deeply

than is usual in these bandeau texts, and it reveals no trace of Merneptah. As observed in n. c, above, the incomplete prenomen on column 2 seems to have been carved originally by Sety II.

PLATE 195. THE COLUMN BASE INSCRIPTIONS

All of the column bases along the main axis of the colonnade have been trimmed back, and the incipit of each text is therefore lost. The drawings of the base inscriptions have therefore been centered on the outer tangent of the bases, rather than along the axis of the hall, in order to provide more continuous context for these battered inscriptions. Partially damaged signs have been restored in dashed weighted lines. The dashed vertical lines within each band indicate the extent of the cuttings made into each column base in order to widen the central corridor of the Colonnade Hall; an additional dashed line on column 1 indicates a secondary cutting. The base inscriptions all seem to have been recarved, but only on columns 2 and 12 can the remains of the original texts be read with any certainty; these texts are positioned below the final text bands and in proportionate relationship to them. Other faint traces may be noted in the bands on columns 4 and 10.

TRANSLATION

COLUMN 2

RAMESSES III

[Live the Horus: great of jubilees like Ptah-]Tatenen,^a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Meramun, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Heqaon, [beloved] of Amun-Re [...]

MERNEPTAH: LEFT

[Live ... king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Baen[re-Meramun,] son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Merneptah-Hetephermaat, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, given life.

MERNEPTAH: RIGHT

[Live ...] king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Baenre-Meramun, son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Merneptah-Hetephermaat, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven, ruler of the ennead, given life.

COLUMNS 3 THROUGH 14

RAMESSES IV: LEFT

[Live ... lord of jubilees like his father Pta]h-Tatenen,^b king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of might, lord of ritual, Usermaatre-Setepenamun, son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, given life.

RAMESSES IV: RIGHT

[Live ... lord of jubilees like his father Ptah-]Tatenen, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of

might, lord of ritual, Usermaatse-Setepenamun, son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Meramun, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, given life.

COLUMN 12

SETY I(?): LEFT

[Live ...] lord of ritual [...]

SETY I(?): RIGHT

[Live ...] whom A[mu]n has chosen [...]^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRamesses III included the epithet *wr ḥb.w-sd mī Pth-T3-tnn/T3-tnn* “great of jubilees like Ptah-Tatenen/Tatenen” in his *Nb.ty*-name from his sixth regnal year. From his twelfth regnal year he included the same epithet, or the variant *nb ḥb.w-sd mī it.f Pth-T3-tnn*, in his Horus name; see Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 61–62. Each column base inscription probably began with an *nh* introducing the king’s Horus name (cf. *MH* 6, pl. 377), centered along the processional way of the Colonnade Hall, and it is therefore likely that Ramesses III added his titulary to the base of column 2 (and probably column 1 as well) after his eleventh regnal year. On the associations of Tatenen with the royal jubilee, see Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 39–42 and 56–63.

^bRamesses IV incorporates *nb ḥb.w-sd mī it.f Pth-T3-tnn* in his Horus name (Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, p. 62; compare also pls. 172–73, above). For the orthography of Tatenen, see pl. 172, n. *a*, above.

^cBeneath the inscription of Ramesses IV are the remnants of an earlier text, with *nb ir-ih.t* “lord of the ritual” visible to the left, and [...] *t stp.n imn* “whom Amun has chosen” surviving to the right. If *stp.n imn* is part of a Horus name, this could well be the name of Sety I (cf. *KRI* 1, 153/13).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

No inscriptions survive on the base of column 1. The bases of columns 1 through 10 appear to have been left undecorated by Tutankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb. Sety I might have placed inscriptions on the bases of the four southernmost columns (columns 11 through 14) when he carved the great offering scenes on those columns during his completion of the decoration in the south portion of the Colonnade Hall. Merneptah might have decorated the bases of the ten north columns (columns 1 through 10), but clear traces survive only on column 2. Ramesses III surcharged his text over that of Merneptah on column 2, but oddly the Merneptah inscription on this base was not taken down very far and, for much of the circumference of the base, can be more clearly read than the final version; presumably the same situation held for column 1 as well. It was left to Ramesses IV to recarve the base inscriptions of columns 3 through 14 (presumably those of Merneptah on columns 3 through 10, and possibly Sety I on columns 11 through 14), but leaving the inscriptions of Ramesses III on column 2 unaltered (and presumably on column 1 as well).

On the base of column 10, the fragmentary names and titles of Ramesses IV are preserved, with the clear trace of a water-*n* of an earlier inscription visible in the prenomen. The relatively small scale of the *n* and its position suggest that it was an element of a royal name within a cartouche. This *n* would not suit a name of Ramesses III, but it could be the *n* in the nomen of Merneptah.

Since the cuttings of the bases along the central axis of the Colonnade Hall curtail all of the column base inscriptions, they must postdate the inscriptions of Ramesses IV.⁵⁴ The base of column 1 was cut back a second time, and this additional area of removed surface appears as a third dashed line. A similar additional cutting was begun on the base of column 2, but never completed; it appears as a trough extending down about 30 cm from the top of the base, running through the title *nswt bity*.

PLATE 196. A. THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE EAST ARCHITRAVE, EAST FACE

The architrave texts have not been drawn as facsimiles, but rather as measured hand copies; the conventions used here differ slightly from the Epigraphic Survey norms. Signs that are entirely damaged but are required by context and/or spacing are shown enclosed within brackets. Parts of signs that are not entirely preserved but still identifiable appear as though complete, except when they have been deliberately hacked or incompletely carved; in these instances the signs are rendered as they appear. Small breaks in the margin lines have not been indicated; margin lines are shown as dashed lines where they are damaged but likely to have been carved, and they are not shown when they were certainly never carved.

The character of the carving varies significantly from block to block. Raised relief, sunk relief, and simple incising all appear in different areas on the architraves, and these styles have been faithfully rendered in the drawings where they occur. For a photograph of the fallen portion of the west architrave, now lying between columns 2 and 4, see pl. 227A.

TRANSLATION

¹[... Horus of Gold: powerful of bows in]^a all [lands], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menmaatse, victorious king, image of Re, ex[ce]llent eg[g of At]um,^b <whose> beauty Khepri created,^c who makes monuments such that [th]ey come into existence immediately just like (those of) his [father Pta]h Beautiful-of-face.^d (It is) the king himself who gives the instruction <to> direct the work on his monument.^e Now, as f[or] the good god: to Horakhty was he born.^f The strength of the two lords is [mi]ghty [in] your limbs, and their share of life, stability, and dominion, you being joyful upon the throne of Horus, you having [appe]ared in glory as [king of Upp]er and Lower Egypt, lord of the two

54. Compare the later adjustments made to the bases of the columns to either side of the central aisle of the hypostyle hall in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu 3: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III* 1, OIP 54 [Chicago, 1941], pp. 11–12).


lands, Menmaatré, [given] life like Re forever, renewer of monuments in southern Opet for his father, the king of the gods, being the monument of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of the nine bows, [lord of the two lands, Nebmaatré ...]⁸ 2[... Horus of Gold: powerful of bows in] all [lands],^a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menmaatré, the good god, son of Amun, champion of Kamutef,^h splendid se[ed] of the lord of Thebes, whom the king of the gods engendered, whom Weret-Hekau nursed in the palace of Karnak,ⁱ whom Mut, lady of Asheru, bore to be ruler of all that the sun disk encircles, he having taken up the crook and flail like Horus, whom Isis bore. The white crown and the red crown are established on your head, you having received the insignia of Re. Thoth establishes your annals as^j the son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, given life like Re forever.^k It is an excellent work of eternity, being the great monument of his father, son of Re, whose beauty is elevated, [... Amenhotep^l ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the restoration, see pl. 197B, l. 2.

^bCompare Tutankhamun as *tl.t R^c swḥ.t iqr(.t) pr m ḥ^c.w.f* in Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 20 (no. 47). On *swḥ.t iqr.t*, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 97–98, particularly n. 239.

^cFor this combination of images, see Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften*, p. 33 (Nr. 9): *swḥ.t w^c.b.t shpr.n Hr m ḥ.t-ḥ.t qmḥ.n bḥ.w iwnw nfrw.f* “pure egg whom Horus caused to exist in the palace, whose perfection the souls of Heliopolis created.”

^dIn the hypostyle hall Sety I uses the same phrase and there compares himself to Ptah: *rsy-ḥnb.f* (*KRI* 1, 202/5–6). Compare also *Urk.* 4, 2052/13, 2053/19; and Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 354, n. 1179, and p. 386, n. 1316. On *nfr-ḥr*, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, pp. 172–74; P. Germond, “À propos de l’expression *hr nfr* , ‘beau visage’: Une Lecture au second degré ?,” *BSEG* 4 (1980): 39–43; L. Žabkar, “A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 145; P. Derchain, “Un Projet d’empereur,” in *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext*, ed. D. Mendel and U. Claudi, *Afrikanische Arbeitspapiere Sondernummer* 1991 (Cologne, 1991), p. 118; Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, p. 198, n. 897; and Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le Petit temple d’Abou Simbel* 1, p. 157, n. 113.

^eProbably to be understood as *<r> sḥm.t*. On the omission of *r* before the infinitive, see A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1933, 2nd ed.), pp. 206–07 and 188–89 (§§427 and 598). For the same phrase, see the architrave inscription of Sety I on the north face of the architrave atop columns 8–11 in the hypostyle hall at Karnak (*KRI* 1, 202/5–6). For other parallels, see D. B. Redford, “The Earliest Years of Ramesses II and the Building of the Ramesside Court at Luxor,” *JEA* 57 (1971): 115 (his lists can be augmented; cf. *MH* 4, pl. 201, ll. 3–5); see also V. Rondot, *La Grand Salle hypostyle de*

Karnak: Les Architraves (Paris, 1997), p. 16, n. *d* to no. 4. For the association of the *tp-rd* with *sḥm* in a private text, see Djehuty’s Northampton stela (*Urk.* 4, 421–25).

^fCompare *Urk.* 4, 1744/17 (partially restored) and 2142/9.

^gFor the restoration, see the west face of this architrave, pl. 196B, l. 1 (end).

^hFor the close association of the *swḥ.t*-egg in l. 1 (see n. *b*, above) and the king as the *nd.ty*-champion, see above, n. *m* to pl. 136.

ⁱSee Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*,” p. 274, n. 111; for the nursing of the king, see also the references given above, pl. 144, n. *c*, and pl. 149, n. *e*.

^jOn *n* for *m*, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, pp. 227, 292, and 297–98 (§§467, 603, and 606). For the annals established “as” or “in” the name of the king, see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 49, l. 8.

^kThe trace beneath the head of the serpent appears to be the remnant of a poorly made serpent’s head.

^lFor the epithet *wts nfr.w.f* applied to Amenhotep III, apparently unattested elsewhere, see the west face of this architrave (pl. 196B, l. 2 [end]). A similar epithet, *wts mrw.t.f*, is attested for Amenhotep III, likewise in connection with the *sḥ R^c* title; see Schade-Busch, *Zur Königsideologie Amenophis’ III.*, pp. 169–70 (§033j) and 193 (§064b).

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The carving of the architrave inscriptions appears to have begun from the north, as did the carving of the Opet register (see *RILT* 1, p. xvii), and one may suggest that the architrave texts were begun by Tutankhamun in raised relief; the presence of his prenomen on the abaci of columns 1 and 2 and the honorifically carved prenomen of Amenhotep III on the abaci of columns 3 and 4 support this conclusion. Under Sety I, whose prenomen and nomen alternate in pairs on the abaci of columns 5 through 14, the completion of the carving appears to have begun from the south, where the ‘best of Sety’s architrave work appears. Most of the carving under Sety I was done in a summary fashion either in sunk relief or incised line; the signs that are simply incised appear on the plates as sun weight lines.

According to preserved traces of paint, the signs finished under Tutankhamun appear to have been colored normally; so on the west face of the east architrave (pl. 196B), in *ip.t-s.wt n it.f imn* in l. 2, the reed-leaves were green and the *mn*-sign was apparently red. Under Sety I the signs in the inscriptions are uniformly red; within the cartouches the background was painted yellow. There are also traces of background plaster.

PLATE 196. B. THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE EAST ARCHITRAVE, WEST FACE

For general remarks on the drawing conventions used for the architrave texts, see pl. 196A, above.

TRANSLATION

¹[... Horus of Gold: powerful of bows]^a in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [lord] of the two lands, Menmaatre, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, the victorious king who carries out benefactions in the domain of his father Amun, for whom he brightened Opet ane[w in the li]keness of the horizon of heaven, his exact place of the first occasion, with which his heart is conte[nt] every day.^b It is the pleasure of the ennead, within which Amun appears in glory to mankind.^c The gods who are in Thebes are in jubilation since southern Opet has been renewed for A[mu]n. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmaatre, has made as his monument for his father Amun, the restoring for him of Opet anew in the likeness of the horizon of heaven, according as a son should do who is beneficial for his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of the nine bows, lord of the two lands, Nebmaatre-Tytire, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of heaven^d [...] ²[... Horus of Gold: powerful of bows]^a in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, son of Amun, who came forth from his body, champion of all the gods, gre[at] of stren[gth] li[ke] Montu residing in Thebes, who tramples every foreign land and slaughters their chieftain(s). Now, [as] for the good god: the shade of Montu has alighted on him,^e this one who is vigilant in seeking out and doing what is beneficial^f in southern Opet for his father, he being established upon his throne,^g (namely) Amun's, the primeval one of the two lands, one whom he (Amun) has caused to appear in glory as king of the two lands to do what satisfies his *ka*, son of Re, Sety-Mer(ne)ptah, who makes great monuments in Karnak for his father Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands, who aggrandizes his domain and who embellishes his temple, being the monument that the son of Re, whose beauty is elevated, lord of glorious appearances Amenhotep-Hekawaset, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, made for his father [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the restoration, see pl. 197B, l. 2.

^bIn *MH* 5, pl. 356 (continued from pl. 355E), the mortuary temple of Ramesses II at Medinet Habu, and specifically the first pylon of that complex, is said to be, among other things, [r] *shtpw K3-mw.t.f* "[intended for] pacifying Kamutef."

^cCompare Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 81; L.-A. Christophe, "La Face sud des architraves surmontant les colonnes 74–80 de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak," *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 77, n. 1; and Rondot, *Architraves*, p. 37, n. d. For the heart and the imagery of the balance (cf. *Wb.* 2, 130/15), see A. Piankoff, *Le «Coeur» dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'ancien jusqu'à la fin du nouvel empire* (Paris, 1930), pp. 84–85.

^dAmenhotep III is the "father" of the ruler carrying out the restoration work at Luxor Temple; compare the text of Tutankhamun

in *RILT* 1, pls. 3, l. 6, and 119, l. 21. For the possible significance of Tutankhamun referring to Amenhotep III as his father, see L. Bell, "La Parenté de Toutankhamun," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 101 (1986): 47–48.

^eSee B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn, 1970), p. 90. On the shade of Montu, see further Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," pp. 33 and 48, n. 84.

^fCompare *Urk* 4, 1691/16–18. For the combination of *hhy* and *ir sh.wt*, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, p. 171, n. 510 and pp. 523–24, n. 382.

^gCompare *Urk* 4, 1690/17–18.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

The west face of the east architrave is longer than the other architrave texts presented here, augmented by a fallen fragment that presently lies between columns 2 and 4 on the west side of the Colonnade Hall (see pl. 227A).

PLATE 197. A. THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE WEST ARCHITRAVE, EAST FACE

For general remarks on the drawing conventions used for the architrave texts, see pl. 196A, above.

TRANSLATION

¹[... Horus of Gold: powerful of bows in]^a all [lands], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, the victorious king who carries out benefactions in the domain of his father Amun, for whom he brightened Opet anew in the likeness of the horizon of heaven, his exact place of the first occasion, with which his heart is content, his truly august temple^b within which he rejoices, everyone seeing it like the horizon of heaven.^c Everybody is [fu]ll of [lov]e for [it]; one cannot be sated with seeing it.^d The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [lord of the two] lands, Menmaatre, who conceives work and plans for the future,^e who embellishes for eternity and [re]news monuments in southern Opet for his father, the king of the gods, being the monument of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of every land, lord of the two lands, [Nebmaatre ...].^f ²[... Horus of Gold: powerful of bows in] all [lands], king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, son of Amun, his champion who came forth from his body, great of strength like Montu residing in Thebes, who tramples every foreign land and slaughters their chieftain(s). Now, as for the good god: he was born for Kamutef, his strength^g being like (that of) the two lords throughout his body,^h his might being like (that of) the son of Nut. (As for) the foreign lands: the chiefs who are ignorant of Egypt have come bowing,ⁱ bearing their tribute,^j on account of the power of his majesty, son of Re, lord of glorious

appearances, Sety-Merneptah, who passes the night wakeful seeking what is beneficial, so that by daybreak he has found what is good,^k who purifies the house of^l the one who bore him as an excellent work of eternity, being the great monument of his father, son of Re who extends his borders, lord of glorious appearances, [Amenhotep^f ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the restoration, see pl. 197B.

^bFor an interpretation of this passage in which the suffix pronoun is believed to refer to the king rather than the god, see Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka," p. 254, n. 5.

^cThe *n* above *t3* is apparently a hieroglyphic misinterpretation of the first *t3*-sign of *t3.wy-tm.w* (*Wb.* 5, 219/8 and 304/15) in the hieratic original of the text. The preposition *hr* is absent before the infinitive *m33*. For *h' m 3h.t*, a description of the union of the solar deity with the horizon of which the architrave passage appears to be an elaboration, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 325–26; and Darnell, "Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu," pp. 40–42, n. *a* to §2.

^dCompare *Urk.* 4, 1688/13–14.

^eCompare *Urk.* 4, 861/5–6; 1557/4–5; and 1697/20.

^fFor the restoration of the name of Amenhotep III, see pl. 196B.

^gThe form of the possessive suffix is that which in Late Egyptian preserves a preceding dental, here the *t* of *phty*; see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, pp. 61–62, §§139–40; F. Behnk, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Paris, 1930), p. 53, §74; and Junge, *Neuägyptische*, p. 530.

^hThe group *h'w.f* was moved to the right to correct the inadvertent omission of *hr* "throughout."

ⁱCompare *Urk.* 4, 1692/7.

^jThe text originally read *w3h tp.w r bw [hr.f]* "with heads bowed, to the place [where he is]."

^kOn *sdr rs*, see Grimal, *Termes de propagande*, pp. 524, n. 383, and 525, n. 387. For the syntax of *hd-t3*, which here is probably a parenthetic "emphatic" *sdm.f*, see M. Gilula, "Shipwrecked Sailor, Lines 184–85," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, January 12, 1977, ed. J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wente, SAOC 39 (Chicago, 1976), pp. 80–82; for the phrase, see also Rondot, *Architraves*, p. 44, n. *b* to no. 20; and J. C. Darnell, "A New Middle Egyptian Literary Text from the Wadi el-Hôl," *JARCE* 34 (1997): 98–99. The *m* and *f* of *gm.f*, apparently reduced from *gm.n.f* (on the reduced *sdm.n.f*, see *RILT* 1, p. 23, n. *e* to pl. 59; and above, pl. 190, n. *a*), appear to have metathesized.

^lFor the use of the plural genitive *nyw* after a singular antecedent, see Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, p. 96 (§215); and J. A. Wilson, "The Language of the Historical Texts Commemorating Ramses III," in *Medinet Habu Studies 1928/29*, ed. U. Hölscher and J. A. Wilson, OIC 7 (Chicago, 1930), p. 32.

PLATE 197. B. THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE WEST ARCHITRAVE, WEST FACE

For general remarks on the drawing conventions used for the architrave texts, see pl. 196A, above.

TRANSLATION

1 "[... Horus of Gold: powerful] of bows in all lands, [king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands,] Menmaat[re, bodily] son of [Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, [victorio]us king who administers the land with his governance, who steers it with good [de]eds, who makes monuments with a loving [he]art for his father, who placed him on his throne, who enlarges his domain, who provisions his temple with immeasurable quantities of offerings in order to cause that the name(s) of the forefathers endure;^a the reward for this is (being) king forev[er,] as (long as) eternity endures. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menmaatre: he has made as his monument for his father Amun the re[storing]^b for him of Opet anew [in the li]keness of the horizon of [hea]ven, according as a son should do who is beneficial for his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of the nine bows, lord of the two lands, [Nebmaatrec ...] 2 [...] Horus of Gold: powerful of bows in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [lord] of the two lands, Menmaatre, bodily son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah, son of Amun, vigilant concerning his monuments, who does what is beneficial for the one who bore him, who renews the name(s) of the forefathers with beautiful monuments and benefactions forever, he having brightened Karnak anew in the likeness of what was before.^d The lords of Thebes are in jubilation and its ennead is in joy,^e for it has seen the monuments of his majesty established in the domain of Amun, as he gives life, stability, and dominion to the son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Sety-Merneptah. For his father Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands, he has accomplished in Karnak the enlargement of his domain and the embellishment of his temple in the monument that his father made, son of Re, ruler of every land, lord of glorious appearances [Amenhotep ...]"

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aPerhaps a reference to the Min procession which visited Luxor Temple; during this festival, depicted on the back of the pylon of Luxor Temple, statues of earlier rulers were carried on the shoulders of priests; see Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, pp. 204–06; and Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, pp. 34–37.

^bThe area of the lasso in *srwd* is damaged, but this was not intentional, and light damage extends beyond the area indicated on the drawing.

^cFor the restoration of the name of Amenhotep III, see pl. 196B.

^dRead *snî [r î]m(y)-h3.t*; for the substantival use of *imy* (*hr*)-*h3.t*, with *imy* positioned beneath *r* as proposed here for

the Luxor architrave, see *Khonsu* 2, pl. 195. This statement could refer to Sety's work at Karnak as the continuation of post-Amarna restorations begun under Tutankhamun and Ay; see M. Gabolde, "Ay, Toutankhamun et les martelages de la stèle de la restauration de Karnak (CG 34183)," *BSEG* 11 (1987): 37–61, particularly pp. 38–40; and M. Eaton-Krauss, "Tutankhamun at Karnak," *MDAIK* 44 (1988): 1–11. Compare also the statement on the restoration stela, *Urk.* 4, 2026/19, that Tutankhamun's work resulted in *t3 mī sp.f tpy* "the land being like its first occasion." This may, however, merely refer to the work of the king in recreating the primeval times of creation; compare the remarks of J.-M. Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb, traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutionnel* (Brussels, 1981), p. 25.

^eFor the ennead of Thebes, see above, pl. 172, n. *u*.

PLATE 198. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS FROM THE FACADE

FRAGMENT 85

TRANSLITERATION

¹[... *mr.n(?)*]*f r* [*nsw.t nb(?)*]^a ²[*nsw.t-bity ... Dsr*]-*hprw-R*^c
Stp[-*n-R*^b ...] ³[*s3-R*^c ...] *Hr-m*[-*hb Mr*]-*n*[-*imn*^c ...]

TRANSLATION

¹[... whom] he [has preferred] to [any (other) king(?)] ²[king of Upper and Lower Egypt ... Djeser]kheperure-Setep[en-re...] ³[son of Re ...] Horem[heb Mer]en[amun ...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe damage above the tip of the viper's tail appears to preserve the rough shape of the left end of a water-*n*. For the possible restoration, compare pl. 136, n. *k*, pl. 147, n. *e*, and see *RILT* 1, p. 6, n. *c* to pl. 16.

^bThe traces belong to the prenomen of Ay, *Hpr-hpr.w-R*^c *ir-m3*^c.*t*.

^cThe traces belong to the nomen of Ay, *it-ntr-iy-ntr-hq3-W3s.t*.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

The scale and orientation of the signs suggests that the fragment comes from one of the exterior doorjamb or lintel scenes on the east side of the entrance portal—either from the scene on pl. 148*B*, or from one just above it. The former alternative may be more likely, since the fragment would form one of a cluster of such stones from the facade (see the key plans fig. 1).

FRAGMENT 88

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *w3s* [...] ²[*nsw.t*]-*bi*[*ty*] [*Nb*]-*m3*^c.*t-R*^c [...] ³[*s3-R*^c]
i[*mn-htp hq3-W3s.t* ...]

TRANSLATION

¹[...] dominion. [the king of Upper and] Lo[wer] Egypt, [Neb]maatre [...], [the son of Re] A[menhotep-Hekawaset ...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

This fragment shows the remnants of unrecut cartouches of Amenhotep III, from either the third register doorjamb scene or the upper lintel scene. Honorific figures of Amenhotep III appear in the first and third doorjamb scenes from the bottom and might have been present in the fifth (lintel) scenes as well.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS FROM THE EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH FACADE

FRAGMENT 15

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *ip.t.f* [...]

TRANSLATION

¹[...] his Opet [...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

The fragment preserves a portion of the name of Luxor Temple, *ip.t*, perhaps in an epithet of Amun such as *hnty ip.t.f* "foremost of his Opet." The trace lines visible are strong but insufficient to suggest a restoration of the original.

FRAGMENT 1268

TRANSLITERATION

[... *nsw.t-bity ... Dsr*] *hprw*[-*R*^c *Stp-n*]-*R*^c [...]

TRANSLATION

[... the king of Upper and Lower Egypt ... Djeser]kheperu[re-Setepen]re [...]

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

This fragment shows a portion of the usurped prenomen of Ay, *Hpr-hpr.w-R*^c *ir-m3*^c.*t*, and might have come from the third register.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS FROM THE NORTH FACADE

FRAGMENTS 2143 AND 2226

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *nb r* [*dr* ...] ²[...] *hnty* [...]^a

TRANSLATION

¹[...] lord of [all ...] ²[...] foremost [...]^a

The sequence in which these two columns are to be read is uncertain.

FRAGMENT 2025

This fragment preserves only a segment of a column divider and portions of two *n*-signs.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS FROM THE WEST SIDE OF THE NORTH FACADE

FRAGMENTS 1323 AND 1325

TRANSLITERATION

¹[...] *m* [...] ²[...] *n hpr*[(*i* ?)...]

Although the third register seems to have the same scale as the second register, these fragments have been placed with the second register fragments. Of the hieroglyphs preserved on fragment 1323, *n hpr* might have belonged to a statement such as [*qm*].*n Hpr*[*i nfrw.f*] “whose beauty Khepri created” (cf. pl. 196A, l. 1, with n. *c*), and the surviving portion of a sign above the *n* could be the tip of the *m*-sickle of an orthography of *km*. In any event, *n hpr/Hpri*(?) is more easily incorporated into a series of laudatory epithets than into the preserved speeches of the east side of the facade, second register.

FRAGMENT 2107

To the right is a portion of a text column, [...] *n.k* [...]; to the left is a border. The preserved surface above the *n* suggest the restoration of a single sign above, perhaps [*dī*](*i*) *n.k* ...

FRAGMENT 2223

This fragment bears the remnants of two columns of text. A portion of a seated divine determinative survives to the right, and portions of *wr* “great” to the left.

FRAGMENT 2227

This fragment appears to show a portion of the word *qn.t* “valor” and may belong to pl. 142, l. 2 or l. 3.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

These fragments have been grouped together as belonging to the west side, second register. However, since the width of the text columns seems to be the same in both the second and third registers, it is equally possible that they derive from the third register.

PLATE 200. THE PINUDJEM TABLEAU (GR. 1)

The tableau of Pinudjem is located below the figure of Amun in the first register of the east side of the facade of the Colonnade Hall (pls. 131–32), carved over the erased marginal inscription of Merneptah (pl. 143B). This tableau has been much discussed; see Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” p. 32 (no. LII); H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* 3, MIFAO 19 (Cairo, 1914), pp. 245 (no. VIII) and 252 (no. XXXIV); P. Montet et al., *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis*, La Nécropole Royale de Tanis 2 (Paris, 1951), p. 181; A. H. Gardiner, “The Gods of Thebes as Guarantors of Per-

sonal Property,” *JEA* 48 (1962): 68–69, with n. 6;⁵⁵ E. F. Wente, “On the Chronology of the Twenty-First Dynasty,” *JNES* 26 (1967): 167–68; A. Niwiński, “Problems in the Chronology and Genealogy of the XXIst Dynasty: New Proposals for Their Interpretation,” *JARCE* 16 (1979): 51–52; Ciccarello, *Graffito of Pinutem I*, text commentary on pp. 21–22, list of documents on pp. 22–23 (Document 42), notes on pp. 15–17 (n. 45); K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1986, 2nd ed. with supplement), pp. 45, 55, 58, 258; M.-A. Bonhême, *Les Noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire*, BdE 98 (Cairo, 1987), p. 39; K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988), pl. 7c and d; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit*, ÄAT 26 (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 322; and M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches*, ÄAT 21 (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 53 and 551–53. For a reconstruction of the history of the period, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Das Ende des Neuen Reiches,” *ZÄS* 119 (1992): 22–37.

Despite the significance of this elaborate graffito, no photograph or drawing of the Luxor graffito has appeared before now. Plate 199 (Chicago House neg. no. 9168 [= Oriental Institute print no. 42118]) shows the condition of this scene in the 1930s. The surface surviving in modern cement in the upper left portion of the scene preserves traces of ancient plaster atop areas of deep damage.

TRANSLATION

ABOVE THE CENSER

¹Thurifying and making a libation to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands.

ABOVE THE ENTHRONED AMUN

²Amun-Re who bore himself,^a the [great] god: ³“(I) have given to you all valor and all victory. ⁴(I) have given to you all life, stability, dominion, and all health.”

ABOVE AMUN OF LUXOR

⁵Amun[-Re Kamutef, foremost of] ⁶his Opet.

BEHIND THE PLUMES OF AMUN OF LUXOR

⁷Amun-Re, [foremost of] Karnak.^b

ABOVE MUT

⁸[Mut] the great, lady ⁹[of Asher]u, the eye of Re, ¹⁰[the mistress] of all the gods.

ABOVE KHONSU

¹¹Khonsu-in- ¹²Thebes Neferhotep, the great god, ¹³[residing in] K[ar]nak.^c

55. Correct Gardiner's reference to Daressy from “XLII” to “LII.”

ABOVE PINUDJEM

¹⁴Prince and chief of the two lands, high priest of Amun-Re,
¹⁵king of the gods, Pinudjem, justified, son of Piankh, justified.

ABOVE THE PRINCESSES

¹⁶The king's beloved bodily daughter, the god's wife ¹⁷of Amun, lady of the two lands, Maatkare.^d ¹⁸[The king's] beloved [bodily daughter ...]^e ¹⁹[the chantress of Amu]n-Re, king of the gods,^f lady of the two lands,^g ²⁰[Henutta]wy, justified.^h ²⁰The king's beloved bodily daughter, ²¹[the overseer of the musicians of Amun,ⁱ Nedjemmut, justified.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aAmun "who bore himself," seated in front of Amun of Luxor, is most probably Amun of Karnak. The epithet "who bore himself" is appropriate to the solar aspect of Amun-Re, the god of Karnak; see *Wb.* 2, 138/8–9.

^bThe poorly preserved hieroglyphs of this line are less deeply carved than the others in the graffito and were probably inserted later into the space between the flail and the plumes of the deity; because their exact contours are now difficult to discern, they have been rendered as damage. This label identifies Amun of Luxor as Amun of Karnak, a not unreasonable error. There are other such labels on the facade; e.g., the graffito "Amun" beneath a figure of that god on pl. 144.

^cRestore most likely *hry-ib*. Other attested possibilities include *nb* and *m*, but the intervening *ntr* ʿ3 makes these less likely.

^dIn the cartouche of Maatkare Maat holds an angled stick in place of the *ankh*-symbol; compare *Khonsu* 2, pl. 176, l. 1 (reign of Ramesses XI), where Maat holds a similar stick, although it curves in the opposite direction.

^eReading [*s3.t-nswt n h.t.f*] *mr.f* [...].

^fKitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 55, follows Daressy in translating "[the bodily King's Daughter whom he loves, Chantress of] Amunresonter." Since the words [*šm'y.t n im*]n-Rʿ fit well at the top of l. 19, another title might have stood at the bottom of l. 18. A possible additional title would be *nb.t pr*; compare the titles of the lady Mutnedjmet in a nearby graffito, *nb.t pr wr hnr* [...] (Daressy, "Notes et remarques," p. 32, no. LIII).

^g*nb t3.wy* is most likely a writing of *nb.t t3.wy* "lady of the two lands" (so also Wente, "Chronology of the Twenty-First Dynasty," p. 167). Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 55, translates "Lord of <the Thrones> of <the Two> Lands," understanding an epithet of Amun-Re.

^hOn the writing of *m3'-hrw* with the plant sign, see B. Geßler-Löhr, "Zur Schreibung von *m3'-hrw* mit der Blume," *GM* 116 (1990): 25–43; and K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* 1, ÄAT 8 (Wiesbaden, 1985), p. 55, n. 45.

ⁱDaressy copied *hry(.t) hnr.t* "overseer of musicians," but the *tyw*-bird, recognized by Wente, "Chronology of the Twenty-First Dynasty," p. 167, renders this unlikely. Kitchen's personal collation (*Third Intermediate Period*, p. 45, n. 202) agreed with Wente's reading, not with that of Daressy. It is possible that the scribe incorporated the *tyw*-bird in a mistaken attempt at a "historical" orthography of *hnrw/hnw*, under the influence of the late pronunciation of the word (see B. Bryan, "The Etymology of *HNR* 'Group of Musical Performers,'" *BES* 4 [1982]: 37), which could lead to a plural *hntyw* (cf. the late *hnr/iw*, *ibid.*, p. 37, n. 17 [no. 3]). The *tyw*-bird is rather squat, possibly because of a *nw*-pot above the bird's head. For *hnr.t*, see also C. Traunecker, "Un Document inédit sur une famille de militaires contemporaine de la XXII^e dynastie," *BIFAO* 69 (1970): 225, with n. 1.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

This large and elaborate graffito was carved over the erased marginal inscription of Merneptah (see pl. 143B).

Niwiński, "Problems in the Chronology and Genealogy of the XXIst Dynasty," p. 52, maintains that Henuttawy's legs are carved over Maatkare's heels and that the carving of the texts pertaining to Pinudjem and Maatkare is stylistically and proportionally different from that of the texts above the other two princesses. He describes the carving of the latter as "of somewhat poorer quality" and emphasizes the varying orthographies of *s3.t-nswt*. He therefore suggests "that the figures of Henttawy and Nedjemmut were engraved later than the original part of the graffito." However, while Henuttawy's toes (not her "legs," as Niwiński states) do in fact pass in front of Maatkare's heels, there is no evidence that Maatkare's feet were the first carved; the present appearance and overlap of the feet of Henuttawy and Maatkare appear to be part of the final design of the elaborate graffito. There is, moreover, no perceptible difference in the style or quality of the hieroglyphs above the royal figures, nor in their size. The different orthographies of *s3.t-nswt* do not constitute sufficient evidence that these two figures were added later; the egg hieroglyph used in the filiation of Nedjemmut is similarly employed for Pinudjem. The figure of Maatkare was probably added to the scene after the initial cartoon was laid out (probably due to poor planning of the use of space), and for this reason she is tiny and tucked away as though behind Henuttawy; one need not interpret Maatkare's smaller stature as indicative of her relative age at the time the graffito was carved,⁵⁶ particularly in view of the fact that she is named first among Pinudjem's daughters and is therefore probably the eldest. The chronological conclusions of Niwiński concerning the graffito should therefore be disregarded (as recognized by Ciccarello, *Graffito of Pinutem I*, pp. 22–23).

There has been some displacement of signs in l. 21 due to a crack which was doubtless already present when the graffito was carved. Because of this defect, the left ends of the *mn* and

56. As does Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 58 (§48), when he suggests that this graffito is the first attestation of Maatkare, here shown "at lesser stature, hence as a girl?"

n of *imn* are incomplete. The *mw.t*-vulture necessarily straddled the small fissure, but the plant writing *mꜣ.t-ḥrw*, which would have had to span an even wider area of the crack, was instead shifted to the right.

PLATE 202. THE HIEROGLYPHIC GRAFFITI BEFORE
THE GODDESS MUT (GR. 2–3)

These inscriptions and the figure of Khonsu are located in the right middle portion of the first register scene on the east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall (pls. 131–32), in front of the face of the large image of the goddess Mut. The graffito of the high priest Sheshonq was published in transcription by G. Daressy, “Notes sur les XXII^e, XXIII^e et XXIV^e dynasties,” *RT* 35 (1913): 133 (no. III). See also Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 306; and Jansen-Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit*, p. 334. The graffito of Padikhonsuiy and the image of the child-god Khonsu are published here for the first time.

THE INSCRIPTION OF THE HIGH PRIEST OF AMUN-RE
SHESHONQ (GR. 2)

TRANSLATION

¹Dedicated by^a the high priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods, Sheshonq, justified, ²king’s son of the lord of the two lands, Osorkon-Meramun.^b ³“I^c have given to the songstress of the residence of the high priest,^d Djedbastet-⁴esankh,^e ¹daughter of *Pꜣ-dī-ī*[...] ^f... life, prosperity, and health, [...] and love]^g ⁵[before(?)] Sheshonq, justified, the high priest of Amun.”^h

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the dedication formula “*īr.n* + name,” see R. A. Caminos, review of *The Temple of Khonsu* 2, by The Epigraphic Survey, *JEA* 71 (1985): 204 and 206; idem, “Gebel es-Silsileh No. 100,” *JEA* 38 (1952): 51–52; and Jansen-Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit*, pp. 93–95.

^bThe names are probably those of Osorkon I and his son, the High Priest of Amun Sheshonq, later Sheshonq II as coregent with Osorkon I; see Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 306. The space at the end of l. 2 separates the dedication from the speech of Mut.

^cSince the inscription is located before the figure of Mut, and since the first person singular suffix is written with the seated-woman hieroglyph, the utterance apparently emanates from the goddess. The speech begins with a *dī.n.ī n.k* formula. The unusual position of the indirect nominal object before the direct nominal object is due to the fixed position in this formula of the dative before the bestowed object. The writing of *dī* with otiose -w probably derives from similar Late Egyptian orthographies of the *sdm.f*; compare K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neuaegyptischen und Koptischen* 1 (Leipzig, 1899), §§197 and 458; and Jansen-Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit*, p. 124.

^dThe person to whom Mut makes her grant is designated the “songstress of the residence of the high priest.” This title is otherwise unattested but is most likely a variant of the well-known *ḥs.t n.t ḥnw n imn* “songstress of the residence of Amun” (Wb. 3, 165/16; see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* 2, ÄA 37 [Wiesbaden, 1981], p. 156).

^eDaressy read *Dd-īs.t-īw.s-ḥn*. Following the personal name are the poorly preserved egg and loaf hieroglyphs of *sꜣ.t* “daughter.” A *Dd-bꜣ.s.t-īw.s-ḥn* who was a *ḥsy.t (n.t) ḥnw n pr imn* is attested on the stela BM 8452, although this appears to be of a somewhat later date; see P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, ÄA 25 (Glückstadt, 1973), p. 189.

^fThe shape of the damage directly below *sꜣ.t* suggests the head and tip of the upper wing of the *pꜣ*-bird.

^gDaressy read *sꜣ.f [s]ḥ [rn.s] tꜣ[y(?)]* *ḥw n pr ꜣḥ ḥn wꜣ snb*. Of this reading, we could verify only *ḥn wꜣ snb* “life, prosperity, and health,” which most likely represent the initial elements granted by Mut to the songstress; see Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, p. 178 (“Bitte 122”).

^hRestore probably a series of benefactions bestowed on the songstress of the residence before Sheshonq, e.g., *ḥsw.t m-bꜣḥ Ṣsnq* “praise before Sheshonq.” The shape of the damage at the bottom right of l. 4 suggests a *mr*-hoe. Since *ḥn wꜣ snb*, *mrw.t*, and *ḥsw.t* all form part of Barta’s “Bitte 122” (Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, pp. 97, 122, 150, 167, 178, 190), *mrw.t* and/or *ḥsw.t* may well have followed *ḥn wꜣ snb*.

THE KHONSU GRAFFITO (GR. 3)

TRANSLITERATION

¹*dd md[w ...] ip.t(?) pꜣ s[ḥn] [...] [mn r]n nfr bꜣk n imn-ḥtp [Pꜣ-dī-ī]Ḥnsw-īy mꜣ-ḥrw m-bꜣḥ imn Mw.t Ḥnsw r dbḥ n.f ḥs.wt ²wsr ḥꜥ qꜣy īꜣw ꜣꜣt nfr.t m ḥnk īw ḥꜥ f tm m snb ḥn*

TRANSLATION

¹Words spok[en^a ...] Opet(?),^b the com[mander ...]^c “[May the] good [name] of the servant^d of Amenhotep [Padi]khonsuiy,^e justified, [remain] before Amun, Mut, and Khonsu,^f in order to beg for himself praise, ²power, a long lifetime, and a great, good old age as a gift, his limbs being complete with health and life.”

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe text introduced by *dd mdw*, above the arm of Khonsu, probably contained the name and a brief utterance of the deity.

^bOr read *pr-[ī]mn*.

^cThe traces suit the attested epithet of Khonsu as *pꜣ ḥn* (Wb. 4, 218/3). For examples of the title applied to Khonsu, see L.-A. Christophe, *Les Divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*, BdE 21 (Cairo, 1955), p. 75 and n. 1;

and P. Clère, *La Porte d'Evergète à Karnak*, MIFAO 84 (Cairo, 1961), pl. 66. On the significance of the epithet as applied to another lunar deity, namely Thoth, see M.-T. Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine*, Rites Égyptiens 3 (Brussels, 1981), pp. 107–09.

^dThe term *b3k* may be an actual title or used figuratively; see W. M. Brashear and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Magica Varia*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25 (Brussels, 1991), p. 67.

^eThe traces above the element *Hnsw* suit a writing of *m3'-hrw* after the name of the deified Amenhotep son of Hapu. Alternatively, they may be taken as a writing of *dī*, and a restored writing of *p3* (as the mat hieroglyph) above the arm would give the name *P3-dī-Hnsw-īy*; on this name and others compounded with *Hnsw-īy*, see A. Leahy, "*Hnsw-īy*: A Problem of Late Onomastica," *GM* 60 (1982): 67–79. The name does not appear only as the simplex at Thebes—the name *Dī-Hnsw-īy* is attested in a graffito on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (personal communication from Dr. Helen Jacquet-Gordon).

^fAlthough Khonsu is otherwise present in the great facade scene, standing behind Ramesses II, the small figure of Khonsu the child might have been added in front of Mut in order that this graffito might be in the immediate presence of images of the entire Theban triad.

ICONOGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

The Khonsu figure is probably holding a *menat* in his right hand; compare the representation of Ihy in É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendera* 4 (Cairo, 1935), pl. 241. For a representation of Khonsu shown wearing the moon with the sidelock of youth, see S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1992), pp. 18–19. On Khonsu-Horus, see also J.-C. Dégardin, "Khonsou et ses compagnes dans son temple de Karnak," in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, ed. U. Luft, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14 (Budapest, 1992), p. 105. On Khonsu as a child, and his association with children, see B. Laskowska-Kusztal, "Deux aspects du culte du dieu-enfant dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine," *Études et Travaux* 8 (1975): 125–33; F. M. H. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin* 1, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 14 (Brussels, 1970), p. 15, n. 1; V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 95–96; and J. C. Darnell, "A Note on *'rb.t* (and *3rb/ar[b]*)," *Enchoria* 17 (1990): 84–86.

PLATE 203. GRAFFITI OF AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF AND MUT (GR. 4–5)

These figural graffiti are located beneath the first register scene on the east jamb of the north portal of the Colonnade Hall (pl. 144).

SMALL GRAFFITO OF MUT (GR. 4)

The graffito is apparently a copy of the figure of Mut in the Ramesside scene directly above.

GRAFFITO OF AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF (GR. 5)

TRANSLATION

¹[Amu]n-[R]e-Kamutef, mighty [god],^a ²[the one] who protects the wretched one.^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aRestore *ntr n'š*, *Wb.* 2, 209/21.

^bRestore [*p3*] *wšb3d* (= *wšb-ī3d*), *Wb.* 1, 371/19. On this epithet, see J. Leclant, "Osiris *p3-wšb-ī3d*," in *Ägyptologische Studien*, ed. O. Firchow, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 29 (Berlin, 1955), pp. 197–204, with this graffito quoted on p. 204; and P. Vernus, "Amon *P3-'dr*: De la piété «populaire» à la spéculation théologique," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927–1976*, 1: *Égypte pharaonique*, ed. J. Vercoutter, BdE 81 (Cairo, 1979), pp. 472–73, with n. 5.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

The sculptor altered the plumes of Amun-Re-Kamutef, abandoning a lower and more vertical pair for the present feathers. The lower front of the left feather was not completed in the stone, and would most likely have been cut through the now vanished plaster fill of the abandoned plumes. The eye, eyebrow, and chin strap of the god have been deeply cut, apparently in order to receive inlays.

Two other graffiti just above these, Gr. 6 and 7, two sunk relief writings of the name of the god Amun, appear on pl. 144.

PLATE 204. GRAFFITI EAST OF THE TABLEAU OF PINUDJEM (GR. 8–10)

Like the tableau of Pinudjem, these figural graffiti are located beneath the first register scene on the east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall (pls. 131–32), carved over the erased marginal inscription of Merneptah (pl. 143B).

ROYAL HEAD (GR. 8)

The graffito depicts the head of a king wearing the white crown. The eye, eyebrow, and chin strap of this head have been deeply cut, as in the graffito of Amun-Re-Kamutef on this plate, with the apparent purpose of receiving inlays.

SEATED AMUN WITH CELEBRANT (GR. 9)

This badly damaged graffito shows a male figure offering to Amun. The relatively large distance between the plumes of the deity and the *w3s*-scepter suggests that these are the remnants of a seated Amun. Considering the low position of the head of the man, not far above the head of Amun's *w3s*-scepter, one may conclude that the man is kneeling before the god. The man wears two *šbiw*-collars. The well-executed face of the man is strikingly similar in style to the face of Pinudjem in the large tableau nearby; the line at the back of the man's

head, leading from the ear to the nape of the neck, appears to represent a roll of skin, like those at the back of the head of Pinudjem in the graffito on pl. 201.⁵⁷ On the basis of iconography, style of carving, and location, this graffito may be reasonably dated to approximately the same time.

PERSONAL NAME (GR. 10)

TRANSLATION

[Pa]my, the younger.^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aReading [Pʒ]-my šri. Also possible is the masculine equivalent of *Mi.t-šry(.t)* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, p. 145, no. 27). For the name “The Little Cat,” note J. Yoyotte, “Des lions et des chats: Contribution à la prosopographie de l’époque libyenne,” *RdE* 39 (1988): 155–78.

PLATE 205. MISCELLANEOUS FACADE GRAFFITI BELOW THE RAMESSIDE ROOFLINE (GR. 11–17)

SEATED FIGURE (GR. 11)

This abraded graffito of a seated royal figure, located to the left of the torso of Amun in the first register of the east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall, may represent one of the nearby colossi of Ramesses II flanking the north entrance into the Colonnade Hall.

CARIAN GRAFFITO (GR. 12)

This short Carian graffito is located in the middle of the first register scene on the east side of the north facade of the Colonnade Hall.

SMALL FALCON (GR. 13)

The graffito is located 106 cm below the ground line of the Ramesside scene on the west wall of the north facade of the Colonnade Hall, and 61 cm to the right of the west jamb of the north portal.

UNFINISHED FIGURE (GR. 14)

The location of the graffito is 117.5 cm below the ground line of the scene on pl. 149, and 32.0 cm to the left of the west jamb of the north portal. The pose of this unfinished torso recalls that of the smiting king.

CROSS (GR. 15)

This small and simply incised Coptic cross is located above and just touching the back of the bull of the phrase *kʒ-nḥt* in the marginal inscription of Merneptah on the west side of the north facade (pl. 143A).

INK GRAFFITO (GR. 16)

The graffito is located on the fragment of the earlier Ramesside gateway built into the east jamb of the Philip Arrhidaeus gateway (pl. 154). The ink graffito is the hieratic sign *sš* “scribe,” apparently without a following name.

DEMOTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 17)

The only preserved Demotic graffito of the Colonnade Hall, this inscription is located at the bottom of the north face of the east jamb of the Philip Arrhidaeus gateway (pl. 153A) in the north entrance of the Colonnade Hall.

TRANSLITERATION

pʒ rn nfr Pʒ-ti-ḥmn-ipy (sʒ) ʾMnhʿl-Hnsw

TRANSLATION

The good name of Petiamunipy, (son of) ʾMenekhʿkhonsu.

ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (GR. 18)

The graffito is located on the second register of the east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall, behind the head of the Eighteenth Dynasty image of Amun surviving above the level of the Ramesside roofline (see pl. 134). Due to its location, the graffito postdates the Ramesside construction and may be a later, crude attempt at “restoring” that image.

PLATE 206. CARIAN AND GREEK GRAFFITI FROM THE EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH FACADE (GR. 19–28)

CARIAN GRAFFITO (GR. 19)

This short Carian graffito is located above *ntr.w*, shown on pl. 136, l. 21.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 20)

The Greek personal name, “Panechates,” is located beneath the final *r* of *mrr* at the end of l. 20 on pl. 136. The name Panechates, Egyptian *Pa-nʒ-ḥt.w* (*Demot. Nb.*, pp. 382–83), occurs elsewhere at Luxor Temple; see M. el-Saghir et al., *Le Camp romain de Louqsor*, MIFAO 83 (Cairo, 1986), pp. 117–18, no. 44. For the name, see C. Evrard-Derriks and J. Quaegebeur, “La Situle décorée de Nesnakhetiou au Musée royal de Mariemont,” *CdE* 54 (1979): 42–46. The *lambda* to the upper left apparently belongs to an unfinished graffito.

CARIAN GRAFFITO (GR. 21)

This Carian graffito, comprised of three lines, is written over the left portion of the name of Amun (pl. 136, l. 18).

CARIAN GRAFFITO (GR. 22)

The graffito is located between the second and third plural strokes of *hʿ.w* (pl. 136, l. 16).

57. See Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX*, pp. 6–10 and pls. 7–10.

CARIAN GRAFFITI (GR. 23–24)

These two Carian inscriptions are written over the tops of the plumes of Amun in the right portion of the scene (pl. 136).

CARIAN GRAFFITO (GR. 25–26)

These graffiti are located behind the small graffito of the ithyphallic Amun in the right portion of the scene (pl. 136).

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 27)

The personal name “Achillous” is written above the first *t3*-sign of *hq3-t3.wy* on pl. 136, l. 7. The name Ἀχιλλοῦς does not appear in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922); this graffito could show ους for ευς.⁵⁸

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 28)

The graffito is written above and below the second *t3*-sign of *hq3-t3.wy* (pl. 136, l. 7).

TRANSLATION

The votive inscription of ...

PLATE 207. GRAFFITI FROM THE UPPER REGISTERS OF THE NORTH (GR. 29–38)

COPTIC CROSS (GR. 29)

This Coptic cross, a “knot of Solomon,” is located on the upper left side of the Eighteenth Dynasty second register scene, to the left of the name of Atum (pl. 136, l. 19). For this type of cross, see the examples in W. Godlewski, *Le Monastère de St Phoibammon*, Deir el-Bahari 5 (Warsaw, 1986), p. 92, cat. no. 23; p. 93, cat. no. 6; p. 111, cat. no. 16; and the bibliography for cat. no. 6, p. 95.

COPTIC CROSS (GR. 30)

This small cross is located not far below the larger cross in the area of a later stairway constructed against the upper right corner of the Eighteenth Dynasty second register scene on the east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall, in the middle of the word *rsy.t* (pl. 136, at the end of l. 10).

COPTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 31)

This graffito is located on fragment 1608, belonging to the upper right portion of the Eighteenth Dynasty third register scene on the east wall of the facade of the Colonnade Hall (see pl. 137B). The vertical stroke on the left may represent the *iota* of the name Ἰησοῦς and the cross itself the *chi* of Χριστός. There is a *theta* over the left arm of the cross and a *sigma* over the right arm. The fork at the top of the cross is the letter *upsilon*. These letters, grouped around and incorporating

a cross, constitute the elements of IXΘΥC “fish” as an acronym for “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior.”⁵⁹ Compare R. Rémondon et al., *Le Monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaïde 2: Graffiti, inscriptions et ostraca* (Cairo, 1965), p. 47, no. 35c, where the abbreviations of “Jesus Christ, Son of God,” are grouped in a square pattern around the combined *iota-tau-omega* of a large and perturbed writing of the name “Victor.”

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 32)

These two lines of Greek are written on fragment 2224, belonging to the upper right portion of the Eighteenth Dynasty second register scene on the east facade of the Colonnade Hall (see pl. 136).

TRANSLATION

The prosk<ynema> of Likinis.^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThis is probably a writing of the name Λικίνιος; see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, p. 196; and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum: Supplémento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke* (Milan, 1967), p. 179.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 33)

This Greek inscription of several lines is located on fragments 2221 and 2222, part of the upper right portion of the Eighteenth Dynasty second register scene on the east facade of the Colonnade Hall (see pl. 136).

TRANSLATION

¹Year 19 ... ^a the votive inscription of ... ² ... ³Platon ...
4...^b 5...

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThis poorly preserved Greek proskynema text appears to begin with a date. James G. Keenan (pers. comm.) suggests reading Ἐπὶ before the τό of τό προσκύνημα, an orthography of the month name Ἐπεῖ (see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1939], p. 57b; and Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 45a; see also Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 1, pp. 96 and 239–42, for the interchange of η and εἰ in Greek papyri).

^bKeenan suggests that the *omega* at the beginning of l. 4 may be the final letter of ποτῶ.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 34)

This inscription is written over the plumes of Amun on fragment 1612, part of the second register scene on the west side of the facade of the Colonnade Hall (see pls. 140–42).

58. Related to the writing of εον for ευ, particularly before ζ (see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* 1: *Phonology* [Milan, 1976], pp. 230–31, cf. specifically p. 230, n. 1, Corinthian Ἀχιλλεύς).

59. On the early history of which, see G. F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* (Chelsea, Michigan, 1991), pp. 24–26, and the references cited therein.

TRANSLATION

¹The votive ²inscription of the one who ³rules the world.^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe phraseology of this proskynema is unusual; no such epithet seems to be attested for Alexander the Great or the Ptolemies. Since the graffito is incised on the figure of Amun, it is possible that the epithet is a rendering of *nb p.t.*, κόσμος being the Greek translation of *p.t.*; see F. Daumas, *Les Moyens d'expression du grec et de l'égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, ASAE Supplement 16 (Cairo, 1952), p. 232. For another example of the deity in the genitive case after τὸ προσκύνημα, see [τὸ π]ροσκύνημα τοῦ κυρίου [Μαν]δούλεος in F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* 1 (Strasbourg, 1915), pp. 389–90 (number 4587).

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 35)

This fragmentary graffito is also located on fragment 1612, just slightly below and to the left of Gr. 34 (see pls. 140–41).

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 36)

This graffito stretches across fragments 1324 and 1329, originally part of the second register scene on the west wall of the facade (see pls. 140–42).

TRANSLATION

¹A[m]on, ²S[ele]ne,^a ³Ch[ons]^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aKeenan has suggested this reading. If the name “Amon” in l. 1 of this graffito refers to the large nearby figure of the god Amun, then the name of the moon goddess in l. 2 might then refer to his consort Mut, depicted as standing behind the god on the opposite wall of the facade. The children of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII were named Helios and Selene, the supreme masculine and feminine cosmic deities (J. Todriau, “Rois lagides comparés ou identifiés à des divinités,” *CdE* 23 [1948]: 141, citing Dio Cass., 50, 25, 3). With Amun here the solar deity, Mut might indeed appear as Selene.

^bIf l. 2 contains the name of the lunar goddess Selene, and if ll. 1–2 refer to the god Amun and his consort Mut, then l. 3 might refer to their child Chonsu, the lunar deity, depicted behind the figure of Amun in the large first register scene on which this graffito is cut. The fragmentary sign at the beginning of l. 3 suggests a χ.

GREEK GRAFFITI (GR. 37–38)

These three lines of text are located on fragments 1326 and 1330, belonging to the second register scene on the west wall of the facade (see pls. 140–42). They may belong to two separate inscriptions and are so numbered; this is uncertain, however, and in the translation given below, they are treated together for convenience.

TRANSLATION

To the protecting^a Ptolemies,^b Isis^c and^d [...]

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor Zeus and other deities as κτήσιος “protector of house and property,” see H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, and R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexikon* (Oxford, 1940), p. 1002. This refers perhaps to the Ptolemies as the possessors of Egypt, an echo of earlier pharaonic epithets such as ἱγί t3.wy. The reference to the founding Ptolemies suggests Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. The graffito might have been inspired by the Lagide ruler cult, which developed under Ptolemy II; see H. J. Thissen, “Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos,” *LÄ* 4, col. 1184. The final signs of KTHCEIOIC show two deep horizontal gouges. Though shown here as damage, they may in fact represent a correction of *iota* from *rho*, or an initially backwards-written *sigma*.

^bThough misspelled, the plural dative ending suggests the reading offered here (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΙΟΙC).

^cPerhaps Ἰσ[ι]ς “Isis.” This resembles more the Coptic form of the name than the Greek (-ησι-, Ἰσι[ς]): see J. Osing, “Isis und Osiris,” *MDAIK* 30 (1974): 104; and Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 1, p. 242, n. 2.

^dThe *kappa* in καί is similar to the *kappa* in KTHCIOIC above, suggesting that the words below the hieroglyphic *m* belong to the same graffito as the dedication to the founding Ptolemies. The shape of the *alpha* in καί differs from that of the *alpha* in Ἄ[μ]ων in the upper graffito, suggesting that different hands executed the two graffiti.

PLATE 208. GRAFFITI IN THE EAST AND WEST
THICKNESSES OF THE NORTH PORTAL OF
THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 39–44)

DATED COPTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 39)

This inscription is located on the Ramesses II scene just to the right of the cartouches in the later scene on pl. 156, to the right and just above the surviving blocks filling the recess in the east thickness of the north portal (cf. pl. 155).

TRANSLATION

¹Patermoute,^a P[armouti(?)], (day) 30,^b ²of the 1[...] indication, the great festival/the festival of the elder/the festival of consecration^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the common name Patermoute, see W. C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 240. Band, 1. Abhandlung (Vienna, 1962), pp. 158–59.

^bThe day of the month should come at the end of the line, immediately preceding THC at the beginning of l. 2. The *lambda*

at the end of the first line should indicate the thirtieth day of the month in question. The month begins with π , and may appear in an abbreviated form. If l. 2 indeed refers to Easter (see n. c), this month is most likely Parmouti. Otherwise, Paone or Pakhons would fit the available space; Phamenoth could also appear in an abbreviated form.

^cFor the order of elements in the dating, see J. Clédat, "Notes archéologiques et philologiques," *BIFAO* 2 (1901): 70; and Y. 'Abd al-Masîh, W. C. Till, and O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, "Coptic Graffiti and Inscriptions from the Monastery of Phoebammon," in *Le Monastère de Phoebammon dans la Thébaïde 2: Graffiti, inscriptions, et ostraca*, ed. C. Bachatly et al. (Cairo, 1965), p. 53, no. 55, l. 3; p. 63, no. 82, ll. 3–4. The number of the indiction begins with l, indicating a number between 10 and 20. Following the abbreviation of indiction is a writing of $\Psi\Delta$ (S^aBF) for $\Psi\Delta$ "festival" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 543a). The following is perhaps $N\Delta K$ (S^a) for $NO\Theta$ "great" (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 250a). This would allow one to read "the great festival," perhaps a reference to Easter (cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 543a, $\pi NO\Theta N\Psi\Delta$ for "the great festival," probably Easter); the final marks are then to be interpreted as scratches or some unfinished continuation of the graffito. Alternatively, one may understand $N\Delta K$ as "the great one, the elder," the line referring to the "festival day of the elder," the founder or patron of a church, etc. (see M. Martin, *La Laure de Dêr al-Dîk à Antinoé*, BdE Coptes 8 [Cairo, 1971], p. 84); for the festival of such a man, see Crum and White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 2, MMAEE 4 (New York, 1926), p. 219, n. 7 to no. 253: $\pi\Psi\Delta N\pi NO\Theta N\rho\omega ME$ (O. Leiden 162); this interpretation omits the final marks of the graffito. As a last suggestion, the final marks may be seen as a slightly disconnected *eta* in $\pi\Psi\Delta N\Delta KH$. The word ΔKH could then be read as a writing of 'qy "entrance" (Coptic ΔEIK , ΔIK ; Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 3; and Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 6), $\pi\Psi\Delta N\Delta KH$ "festival of entering," perhaps referring to some procession or service of consecration. Much less likely is a reading of the final word as a confused writing of $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$, the date of the beginning of the indiction, in the Thebaid most often during the month of Pachons.⁶⁰

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

This graffito is of special interest because it contains an indiction date, a type of time-reckoning introduced under Diocletian in A.D. 284. Considering its low position on the wall, the existence of the text is of some significance, as it shows that the Sety II reliefs had already been largely dismantled by the time the graffito was inscribed. This Coptic inscription suggests that the reduction of the side walls of the colonnade to roughly their present height, and the filling of the temple with debris to a high level, probably occurred before the eighth cen-

tury A.D.⁶¹ Nearby and slightly higher on the wall is an Arabic graffito internally dated to the fifth century A.H., suggesting that by that time further debris had begun to accumulate within the north portal of the Colonnade Hall.

COPTIC CROSSES FROM THE EAST AND WEST THICKNESSES (GR. 40–44)

The crosses that are Gr. 40–42 are at rather low points in the east thickness. Cross Gr. 43 is in the east thickness of the north portal, at about the same level as the Coptic graffito of Paternoute (Gr. 39). Cross Gr. 44 is located low in the west thickness, at the south edge.

PLATE 209. GREEK GRAFFITI AT THE BOTTOM OF THE EAST INTERIOR JAMB OF THE NORTH PORTAL (GR. 45–47)

These graffiti are located in the area of the king's feet in the scene reproduced on pl. 161. The two in *tabulae ansatae* have been published by el-Saghir et al., *Le Camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 115–16, nos. 37 and 38. upper *tabula ansata* (Gr. 45)

TRANSLATION

Amerus, son of Loloutos^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aG. Wagner, "Inscriptions et graffites grecs du temple de Louqsor," in *Le Camp romain de Louqsor*, ed. M. el-Saghir et al., MIFAO 83 (Cairo, 1986), p. 116, reads 'Αμερῶς 'Αθαοῦτος. J. Bingen, review of *Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae*, by A. Bernand, *CdE* 45 (1970): 406, reads the second name as 'Αρσοῦτος. R. S. Bagnall, review of *Le Camp romain de Louqsor*, by M. el-Saghir et al., *JEA* 76 (1990): 253, suggests Λολοῦτος for the second name, noting that H. Riad, "Quelques inscriptions grecques et latines du temple de Louxor," *ASAE* 60 (1968) 288–89, had in fact read the first letter as Λ; Bagnall suggests that the other apparent cross line is also just a crack. Collation of the inscription at the wall confirms Bagnall's suggestion. For the name Λολοῦς, see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, p. 198; and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, p. 181; for Demotic *llwʒ*, see *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 727–28.

The name "Amerus" is repeated to the upper right of the *tabula ansata*.

FIGURAL GRAFFITO (GR. 46)

This appears to be the image of a seated figure holding a staff, perhaps a *wʒs*-scepter.

60. See R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, *Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia* 8 (Zutphen, 1978), pp. 21 and 25–26.

61. The indiction appears on documents of early Saracen date into the eleventh century; see a number of examples in *ibid.*, pp. 56–62; E. B. Allen, "Available Coptic Texts Involving Dates," in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, ed. M. Malinine, *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute* 2 (Boston, 1950), pp. 2–33; see also W. C. Till, "Die Datierung koptischer Urkunden in der islamischen Zeit," in *Arabische Chronologie*, ed. A. Grohmann, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, *Ergänzungsband* 2.1.1 (Leiden and Cologne, 1966), pp. 39–43.

LOWER TABULA ANSATA (GR. 47)

TRANSLATION

I, Ptolion, medic of the cohort^a for the second time, give thanks to Ammon.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the interchange between $\epsilon\iota$ and ϵ before ρ see Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 1, pp. 256, 259, and 261–62.

GRAFFITO BELOW THE PORTAL SCENE (GR. 48)

For the graffito of the small red or double crown (Gr. 48) below the ground line, see pl. 167, above.

PLATE 210. GRAFFITI FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 49–59)

GRAFFITO ON THE NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, WEST JAMB (GR. 49)

The small face, oriented in the direction in which the god Amun is facing, may be a copy of the head of Amun.

COLUMN GRAFFITI (GR. 50–53)

The few surviving ancient graffiti on these columns occur below the seventh course of stone above the column bases. The nineteenth century graffiti are found by and large in the eighth and ninth courses, clustered in three groups: (1) columns 6, 8, and 10 (west side of the colonnade); (2) columns 1 and 3 (east side of the colonnade, facing east); and (3) column 11 (east side of the colonnade, facing west). There are also modern Arabic graffiti on the columns, including an elaborate Koranic reference on column 4. The earliest European scratchings are those of Italian visitors (column 8: G. Canelli in 1804; column 6: GIOVANI F[inati] in 1817;⁶² and column 10: GIULIO Tornes [?] in 1820); shortly thereafter come the names of two Englishmen (column 3: F. W. JEAFFRESON in 1835; column 6: R. H. Miles in 1845). The graffiti of a number of Greek visitors include an elaborate text of one Stamatiades, in the deep cuts of which are remnants of green paint (column 8).

Maxime du Camp's photograph of the Colonnade Hall, taken in 1850,⁶³ shows the debris filling the Colonnade Hall rising as a mound in the north portion of the hall. By the time of the Beato photograph,⁶⁴ taken more than a decade later, the debris had been leveled, making everything over the eighth course above the base of each column out of easy reach. These observations are consistent with the dated nineteenth century visitors' graffiti surviving on the columns. The graffiti below the seventh course on each column are most probably ancient or medieval.

In a brief overview of the modern graffiti on the columns of the Colonnade Hall it remains to discuss a spurious document called the cartouche of an Amarna princess in PM II², p. 316.⁶⁵ This cartouche (fig. 6) is located over 30 feet above the floor of the Colonnade Hall, well above the level of the certain examples of ancient graffiti on the columns, high on the southeast face of column 9.⁶⁶ The sign forms, particularly that of the seated figure as a determinative, are not consistent with a pharaonic date. The cartouche is located just beneath the upper register of decoration on the column shaft, the names of Amenhotep III, carved under Tutankhamun. The so-called Amarna princess' cartouche in fact appears to cut through the area of the late Eighteenth Dynasty decoration, its edges more sharply delineated than those of the upper register of column decoration in this area. All of these features suggest that the cartouche is in fact a relatively recent creation.

According to PM II², p. 316, the cartouche was seen by Ipolitto Rosellini, companion of Champollion during the latter's journey through Egypt and Nubia in 1828 and 1829. This would be very early for such a forgery and would predate by some considerable time the modern world's obsessive fascination with the Amarna period. As Edda Bresciani (pers. comm.) confirmed after an examination of the manuscript Rosellini 287, C, 35, 35b, and 39 (and leafing through adjoining pages) in the Biblioteca Universitaria at Pisa, Rosellini did not in fact copy or mention such a cartouche, although he does record the names of Horemheb, Sety I, and Sety II, from the columns of the Colonnade Hall. Jaromír Málek (pers. comm.), editor of the Topographical Bibliography, has confirmed that the reference to Rosellini does not pertain to this cartouche but rather belongs to the section covering all of the columns of the Colonnade Hall, as it in fact appears on p. 103 of the first edition of PM II. The earliest certain sighting of the cartouche is thus the record of P. Lacau, confirmed through the courtesy of the Centre documentaire de l'histoire des religions in Paris. One may thus suggest that the so-called Amarna princess' cartouche is a forgery dating to the nineteenth century, with Daressy's clearance of the hall at the end of that century a *terminus ante quem*.⁶⁷

If the cartouche is a forgery, we are likely to be dealing with a personal name, the signature of a nineteenth century traveler. On the basis of the vocalizations offered for the hieroglyphs in question in J. F. Champollion, *Dictionnaire égyptienne en écriture hiéroglyphique* (Paris, 1841), pp. 165–66, 204, 296–98, and 376; idem, *Grammaire égyptienne* (Paris,

62. See W. R. Dawson, E. P. Uphill, and M. L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1995, 3rd rev. ed.), p. 150.

63. D. Bull and D. Lorimer, *Up the Nile* (New York, 1979), p. 65.

64. Ibid., p. 64.

65. For previous discussions of this graffito by the Epigraphic Survey, see L. Bell, "The Epigraphic Survey," in *The Oriental Institute 1980/81 Annual Report*, ed. J. A. Brinkman (Chicago, 1981), pp. 10–12; W. Murnane, "The Princess Who Never Was?: A Tale of Scholarly Agonizing, Piracy, and Revenge," *Oriental Institute Notes & News* 93 (Chicago, March–April 1984): 1–4. Much of the following discussion of the "Amarna Princess" is based on notes of W. Murnane and L. Bell.

66. The PM II² reference to col. C (herein column 5) is thus to be corrected to col. E (herein column 9).

67. The carving almost certainly predates the razing of the old house of Mustapha Agha in 1889; see G. Daressy, "Le Voyage d'inspection de M. Grébaut en 1889," *ASAE* 26 (1926), p. 6.



Figure 6. Modern Cartouche of an “Amarna Princess” Carved on Column 9 of the Colonnade Hall

1836), pp. 285 and 482; H. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch* 1–2 (Leipzig, 1867), pp. 141–42; 5–7 (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 528ff., 540, 977, and 1345; and P. Pierret, *Vocabulaire hieroglyphique* (Paris, 1875), pp. 56, 185, 456, and 683; one may suggest that the author intended to write “Aten Smath” or similar.⁶⁸ The most likely perpetrator of this cartouche is Edwin Smith, who was resident in Egypt from 1858 to 1876, living in a house built within the Colonnade Hall, possibly the home of Mustapha Agha Ayat, or a similar but separate dwelling.⁶⁹ Smith’s house may in fact be the dwelling in the colonnade, north of Mustapha Agha’s house, depicted in a photograph by Francis Frith from around 1866, and called the house of the Qadi of Esna on a plan of the temple in G. Maspero, “Sur les fouilles exécutées en Égypte de 1881 à 1885,” *Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte*, 2nd series, no. 6 (1886), plate opposite p. 60. Considering his close dealings with Mustapha Agha Ayat, Smith could have carved the cartouche of the “Amarna princess”—in actuality his own name—from the top of Mustapha’s house.

The “pre-modern” graffiti on the columns are:

COLUMN 1

COPTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 50)

This coptic graffito faces north and is located just below the upper blockline of the sixth course above the base of column 1. The vertical marks to the left of the cross are larger than scratches and appear to be of the same depth as the cuts of the letters to the right (although there is a horizontal gouge to the right of the bottom of the rightmost of these strokes, this does not appear to be a writing of the Greek symbol for “year”). The cross appears to mark the beginning of the actual graffito. The name is perhaps COY[P]OY<C>, a not uncommon name for the Thebaid.⁷⁰

BOAT GRAFFITO (GR. 51)

This rough graffito of a low-hulled boat is scratched at the bottom of the sixth course, below the Coptic graffito, facing north. The profile of the vessel is similar to that of a *dahabiyah*.⁷¹

68. Pierret, *Vocabulaire hieroglyphique*, p. 683, specifically renders t as “ θ , le *th* anglais.”

69. J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus 1: Hieroglyphic Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, OIP 3 (Chicago, 1930), p. 20; T. Devéria, “Notes quotidiennes de janvier à la fin d’avril 1862,” in *Mémoires et fragments* 1, ed. G. Maspero, Bibliothèque égyptologique 4 (Paris, 1896), p. 358 (the content of this reference is somewhat inaccurately presented in J. Wilson, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh* [Chi-

cago, 1964], pp. 52–57; and L. Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt* [London, 1966], p. 192).

70. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden*, pp. 204–05.

71. See L. Basch, “Navires et bateaux coptes: État des questions en 1991,” *Graeco-Arabica* 5 (1993): 26 on the similarities between the *baris* and the more recent *dahabiyah*.

COLUMN 7

A BULL (GR. 52)

The pecked graffito of a bull, near the Sety II cartouches towards the bottom of the column (fourth course above the base), facing southeast.

COLUMN 11

MASON'S MARK(?) (GR. 53)

This scratched workman's mark(?) is located on the fifth course above the base of the column, facing south southeast.

COPTIC GRAFFITO (GR. 54)

This monogram of the name of Christ is faintly scratched across the depiction of the north tower of the third pylon on the north end of the interior west wall of the Colonnade Hall (see *RILT* 1, pl. 16).

TRANSLATION

Jesus Christ

GRAFFITI FROM THE OPET RELIEFS

THREE CROSSES (GR. 55)

For the context of these crosses, carved over the area of the shrine of the bark of Khonsu at the south end of the east wall of the Colonnade Hall, see *RILT* 1, pl. 59.

CRUX ANSATA (GR. 56)

For the context, see *RILT* 1, pl. 62; for a parallel, see *ibid.*, p. 25. For the dots over the upper points of the arms of this cross, see A. Lloyd, "Coptic and Greek Inscriptions and Sealings," in *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis*, ed. G. T. Martin, Texts from Excavations 4 (London, 1979), p. 117.

COPTIC CROSS (GR. 57)

For the context of this Maltese cross, see *RILT* 1, pl. 72.

TWO SYMBOLS (GR. 58)

These two symbols, similar to so-called "tribal marks," or *wusūm*, are located over the forecastle of the lead towboat hauling the barge of the king; see *RILT* 1, pl. 72.

CHRISTOGRAM (GR. 59)

This pecked christogram is centered within the doorway of the pylon of Karnak Temple at the north end of the east wall of the Colonnade Hall; see *RILT* 1, pls. 106–07.

PLATE 212. GRAFFITI ON A ROOFING BLOCK IN THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE SUN COURT OF AMENHOTEP III (GR. 60–76) AND ON A ROOFING BLOCK ATOP THE WEST WALL OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 77–78)

The fragmentary roofing block now in the sun court of Amenhotep III originally came from the Colonnade Hall; the smaller block atop the west wall of the hall seems to have derived from the roof of the sun court. For convenience, the graffiti on both blocks are published here together.

AN INSCRIBED PAIR OF SANDALS (GR. 60)

TRANSLITERATION

¹*ī*t-nṯr smṣ.ty wr Hr-sṣ-ṣs.t sṣ ²ṇḥ.wy ḥm-nṯr sšm Pṣ-dī-Hr-pṣ-ḥrd

TRANSLATION

¹The god's father,^a great stolist,^b Horsiese,^c son of ²the ears (of the king),^d the prophet and leader^e Padihorpakhered^f

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aIn view of the clearer writing of ḥm-nṯr in l. 2, it may be best to take this first sign as a ligature of the bread loaf and a stroke, as it is found in the graffiti on the roofing block now located on the west wall of the colonnade (pl. 212, Gr. 77).

^bFor the priestly title smṣ.ty wr, see *Wb.* 3, 451/2; H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min*, RAPH 3 (Cairo, 1931), pp. 42–43; and G. Vittmann, "Stolist," *LÄ* 6, col. 65, n. 11. After smṣ.ty the orientation of the hieroglyphs is reversed.

^cṣs.t seems to have been placed in the front of the name out of honorific transposition. The thick stroke over the Hr is perhaps a badly made sṣ, which would permit interpreting the second sṣ as "son of."

^dṇḥ.wy seems to be an abbreviated writing of ṇḥ.wy bī.ty "two ears of the king," *Wb* 1, 205/3.

^eThe sign beneath ṇḥ.wy ḥm-nṯr is most likely the sšm-knife, an abbreviated writing of sšm-ḥb "Leiter der Festfeier," *Wb.* 4, 288/22.

^fThe shapes of pṣ and dī in the name Pṣ-dī-Hr-pṣ-ḥrd are unusually rounded.

A PAIR OF FEET (GR. 61)

Although there are five toes in the left foot, the carver of this graffito added five lines to the right foot, indicating six toes.

A PARTIAL FOOT (GR. 62)

This graffito appears to represent the abortive beginnings of a foot, with the ball of the foot, showing the great toe and the toe next to it.

AN INSCRIBED PAIR OF SANDALS (GR. 63)

TRANSLITERATION

¹*hry* [...] *Sty-nht.f* ²*sꜣ.f hm-ntr* [...] *Htp-pꜣ-R* ³(between the sandals) *wꜣb imn Pꜣ- ip(y)*

TRANSLATION

¹The chief [...] ^a Sethnakhtef, ^b ²his son the priest [...] ^c Hoteppe. ^d ³The *wꜣb*-priest of Amun Pa-ipy ^e

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe initial sign at the top of the first sandal is *hry*; below this is the lower left corner of a sign, perhaps the *wꜣb*-wedge in the not uncommon title *hry-wꜣb*; see Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min*, pp. 81–85.

^bThe name Sethnakhtef recalls the New Kingdom royal name Sethnakht (Ranke, *Personnennamen*, p. 322, no. 11). In form, the name presages late forms such as *iꜥh-tꜣ.f-nht* (ibid., p. 13, no. 9), *imn-tꜣ.f-nht* (ibid., p. 31, no. 7), etc. *Sty* is written with the Seth animal seated on his haunches, above a tether-*t*, a rare but not unattested orthography. It is not found in G. Roeder, “Der Name und das Tier des Gottes Set,” *ZÄS* 50 (1912): 84–86; for the writing of the divine name Seth with the tether, see M. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc.* 10 (London, 1982), pl. 71, 2 = No. 35630. The signs loaf-*t* and hobble-*t* were interchangeable at Edfu in the Ptolemaic period (see D. Kurth, “Zum Schriftsystem,” in *Edfu: Studien zu Ikonographie, Textgestaltung, Schriftsystem, Grammatik und Baugeschichte*, ed. D. Kurth [Wiesbaden, 1990] pp. 66–70). For final *t*-pestle in New Kingdom orthographies, see also W. Ward, “Late Egyptian ‘*r.t*’ = the So-called Upper Room,” *JNES* 44 (1985) 333–35.

^cFollowing *hm-ntr* there is space for another vertical sign or group of signs, perhaps *tpy*, *sn.nw*, etc., or the name of the deity whom Prehotep served. The *p* of the name Prehotep is based on the hieratic form (cf. the *p* in Hoteppe in Gr. 76).

^dThe name *Htp-pꜣ-R*, like *Htp-R*, appears to follow the pattern of such Late period names as *Htp-imn*; see Ranke, *Personnennamen*, p. 258, no. 1.

^eThe third name and title; written between the two sandals, might be a later insertion, particularly in view of the execution of the *n*-sign as a wavy line. For the name *Pa-ipy*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 349.

SANDALS (GR. 64–70)

The faint sandal of Gr. 65 is too far to the left of Gr. 67 to belong with it as a single pair. The sandal Gr. 70 is oriented in the opposite direction to all of the others.

THREE SANDALS AND AN INSCRIPTION (GR. 71–73)

The overlapping sandals are shallowly carved and seem to predate the more deeply cut vertical inscription that runs through the group.

PAIR OF SANDALS (GR. 72)

The right sandal contains the title and name, “the god’s father of Amun Horsiese.” It is probable that this inscription is a late addition; the unusual compression of text in the area of the toes of just one sandal suggests that Horsiese was utilizing a pair of sandals that were originally uninscribed, and that he was compelled to arrange his name and title so as to avoid the vertical text of Akhmutef (see Gr. 73, below) that already intruded into the heel of the right sandal.

VERTICAL INSCRIPTION (GR. 73)

The text gives the title and name of “the god’s father of Amun, Akhmutef.” Although the name is otherwise unattested, it may be a variant of the feminine name *ꜣh-mw.t*, cited in Ranke, *Personnennamen*, p. 2, no. 24; compare also the name *Mw.t-ꜣh.t(?)*, ibid., p. 147, no. 5.

A NAME AND A PAIR OF SANDALS (GR. 74)

The named “Amenmose” is inscribed above a pair of sandals.

AN INSCRIBED PAIR OF SANDALS (GR. 75)

The name “Re” is written within the right sandal of a pair that were carved backward; for the name, see Ranke, *Personnennamen* p. 217, no. 7.

A VERTICAL INSCRIPTION (GR. 76)

TRANSLATION

The priest on duty (in) the domain of Amun-Ipy, Efo, ^a his son Hoteppe, justified.

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the name *iw.f-ꜣ*, see Ranke, *Personnennamen*, p. 14, nos. 2–3; and G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Vienna, 1978), p. 217. *iw.f* is written as *iwf* “flesh” (cf. ibid., p. 14, nos. 7, 12, 15).

A PAIR OF INSCRIBED SANDALS (GR. 77)

TRANSLATION

¹The god’s father and beloved, ^a stolist, and second priest of Amun of Opet Padihorpakhered ²son of the god’s father and beloved, stolist, and second priest of Amun of Opet Horsiese. ^c

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the title sequence *it-ntr mry-ntr*, and the abbreviation *it-ntr mry*, which occurs in this graffito, see C. Vandersleyen, “Un Titre du vice-roi Mérimose à Sisila,” *CdE* 43 (1968): 254–56, with references in n. 6 on p. 254.

^bFor Amun of Opet and Amenophis, see J. Quaegebeur, “Amenophis, nom royal et divin, questions méthodologiques,” *RdE* 37 (1986): 104–05.

“The genealogy of these men, members of a well-attested Theban priestly family, is discussed in G. Vittmann, “Eine genealogische Inschrift der Spätzeit im Tempel von Luxor,” *SAK* 10 (1983): 325–32. They are attested in the Luxor graffito that Vittmann publishes (a block on the ground in the northeast corner of the Amenophid court) and in the Brooklyn Saite oracle papyrus (R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* [Providence, 1962], pl. 9, l. 24; as Vittmann notes, “Eine genealogische Inschrift der Spätzeit,” p. 331). The family is also attested in the Small Temple at Medinet Habu; see W. F. Edgerton, ed., *Medinet Habu Graffiti: Facsimiles*, OIP 36 (Chicago, 1937), pl. 4, no. 17: *it-ntr Hr-s3-šs.t s3 P(3)-di-Hr-p(3)-hrd*. This Luxor sandal-pair graffito thus probably dates to the early seventh century B.C.

A PAIR OF SANDALS (GR. 78)

PLATE 213. GRAFFITI ON THE WEST EXTERIOR WALL OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 79–94)

For the location of these graffiti, see the key plans fig. 7. The graffiti are arranged on this plate from right to left (south to north), following the sequence of numbering on the exterior west wall.

HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT (GR. 79)

The graffito consists of the name “Amun.”

ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (GR. 80)

Before the figure of the ithyphallic god the name “A[mun]-Re” is preserved. This figure is similar in style to those carved on the west exterior wall of the Amenophid court, a number of which appear to have been carved to serve as models for practice in *Flickstein*-repair.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 81)

The graffito contains the word *APIAH*(?), which could be a writing of the personal name Aurelios/Aurelia; for $\alpha\nu > \alpha$, see Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 1, pp. 226–28; for $\eta > \iota$ in orthographies of these names, see *ibid.*, p. 237.

FACE WITH *MS*-SIGN (GR. 82)

Next to a profile of a face the sign *ms* is inscribed, perhaps “Mose”(?). The face is done in the style of earlier Egyptian sketches and may be roughly contemporaneous with the Colonnade Hall.

ROYAL HEAD (GR. 83)

This small carving of the head of the king, wearing the blue crown with uraeus, might have been inspired by the Ramesside battle scenes above.

A SHIP (GR. 84)

This sketch appears to represent a low, slender vessel of Graeco-Roman design, square-sailed, with an *aphlaston* at the

rear. It is perhaps a *φάσηλος* (Latin, *phaselus*) (see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* [Princeton, 1971], pp. 167–68) or similar vessel of the *potamophylakes*, the river patrols that must have docked at the water gate of the Roman camp; for the latter, see the references in J. C. Darnell, “The *Kbn.wt* Vessels of the Late Period,” in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. J. H. Johnson, *SAOC* 51 (1992), p. 72. The ropes extending down from the yard, coming together at the bottom of the mast, are a representation of the brails (on which, see Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, pp. 70, 230, and 259–63) as they would appear when viewed from the prow (see *ibid.*, figs. 90, 97, and 151; J. Coates, “The Naval Architecture and Oar Systems of Ancient Galleys,” in *The Age of the Galley: Mediterranean Oared Vessels since Pre-Classical Times*, ed. R. Gardiner and J. Morrison [Annapolis, 1995], p. 127; and D. Nicolle, “Shipping in Islamic Art: Seventh through Eighteenth Century AD,” *American Neptune* 49 [1989]: fig. 29a). The representation may thus be said to combine a profile view of the hull with a frontal representation of the mast, spar, and brails.

TWO BIRDS (GR. 85)

Two perched birds are depicted in this graffito.

A HORSE (GR. 86)

This graffito of a horse was perhaps inspired by the battle scenes of Ramesses II above. The object on the horse’s back may be a human figure, with his feet dangling below the horse’s belly, but the crudity of this figure would contrast markedly with the far more successful rendering of the horse.⁷² An alternative is to see in the object on the horse’s back the pommel and forward wings of a bracing saddle;⁷³ the objects hanging down would then be stirrups or fringe hanging from the corners of a saddle cloth. Stirrups were not common in Europe before the eighth century A.D. and were only popularized there by the shock troops of the Normans. In the sixth century A.D. stirrups do appear in the graves of the barbarian troops of the enemies and *foederati* of the late empire, however, and stirrups are mentioned in the early eighth century in the *Strategikon* of Maurikios.⁷⁴ The Luxor graffito is, however,

72. For a similar representation of a horse, see “Bemerkungen zum Schutz der Denkmäler von Musawwarat es Sufra vor Wind- und Sanderosion, Teil I,” *Mitteilungen der sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V.* 3 (1995): 17, Abb. 9.

73. Compare the remarks of A. Hyland, *Equus: The Horse in the Roman World* (New Haven and London, 1990), p. 134. See K. R. Dixon and P. Southern, *The Roman Cavalry: From the First to the Third Century AD* (London, 1992), pp. 70–74; and A. Hyland, *Training the Roman Cavalry: From Arrian’s Ars Tactica* (Gloucestershire and Dover, 1993), pp. 45–51, regarding a Roman saddle with pronounced horns.

74. On stirrups, see F. Lammert, “Steigbügel,” *Real-Encyclopädie*, Zweite Reihe (R–Z), 3 B.3 (Stuttgart, 1929), cols. 2236–38. For stirrups coming into use first around the fifth century A.D., see A. D. H. Bivar, “The Stirrup and its Origins,” *Oriental Art*, n.s. 1 (1955): 61–62; and F. E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 49–50. For representations of the Indian “toe stirrup” in Coptic art of the sixth or seventh centuries, see D. Nicolle, *Sassanian Armies: The Iranian Empire, Early 3rd to Mid-7th Centuries AD* (Stockport, 1996), p. 30.

most likely ancient, as it is present in early photographs of the wall,⁷⁵ but is too low on the wall to be truly medieval, postdating the burial of the side walls of the hall. The depiction may then be that of the battle charger of a late Roman or Byzantine *clibinarius* or *cataphractus*, a heavily armored lancer modeled after elements of the Parthian cavalry.⁷⁶ There were in fact heavily armored cavalry of this sort stationed in the Thebaid.⁷⁷ The fact that the reins of the bridle go to the base of the round object atop the horse's back fit better an interpretation as reins tied around the pommel of a saddle than around the neck of a rider. There were Western troops stationed in Upper Egypt during the late empire, even Germans, Vandals, and Saxons, and their names are well attested in the Thebaid.⁷⁸ One of these men might have brought his native tack with him. The horse appears to wear a decorated peytral on his breast, or perhaps a large harness pendant.⁷⁹

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 87)

This is perhaps the personal name ΚΑΛΗ (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, p. 160, καλή) or ΚΑΝΗ (see Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden*, p. 117).

A SOLDIER (GR. 88)

The graffito might have been inspired by the battle scenes above.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 89)

Probably an abbreviated writing of Χρισ[τός] Θε[ός] "Christ God."

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 90)

The graffito consists of the personal name "Stasimo[s]"; see W. Pape and G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen 2* (Α–Ω) (Graz, 1959, 3rd ed.), p. 1438.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 91)

ΑΠ...ΧΙ...

The graffito is apparently a partially preserved personal name, perhaps a writing of Ἀπύγχις, as in Preisigke,

Namenbuch, p. 43, if the spelling were seen to reflect a γχ > χχ assimilation (see Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 1, p. 172).

A GIRAFFE (GR. 92)

For a possible pharaonic graffito of a giraffe, see A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai 2: Translations and Commentary* (London, 1952), pl. 96, no. 520. Although there are prehistoric graffiti at Gebel Silsila, it is unlikely that such an artifact would have survived on the dressed face of a cut block of stone.⁸⁰

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 93)

The graffito may represent any number of names beginning with ΤΑΥ[...], including feminine names; see Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden*, p. 214.

GREEK GRAFFITO (GR. 94)

The name partially preserved in the first line is probably "Korax" or "Koragos" (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, cols. 181–82; and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, p. 171). The formula "Name + (I) have come" is also not infrequent, e.g., Ἀλεξᾶς Διονυσίου ἦκω (Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden* 1, p. 1097, no. 1103).

COPTIC CROSS (GR. 95)

For this graffito, see pl. 219D, below.

THE STATUES OF THE COLONNADE HALL

Three colossal late Eighteenth Dynasty statues reinscribed for Ramesses II are located just inside the north entrance to the Colonnade Hall. On the west side facing the axis is a large dyad of the god Amun (on the viewer's left) seated beside his wife the goddess Mut (on the right). On the east side of the hall between the north wall and the first column, facing the axis (and opposite the large dyad), is a statue of a seated king, similar in scale to the large dyad and wearing a *šndy.t*-kilt and a *nms*-headdress. Beside it to the south is another, smaller-scale colossal dyad of the divine couple of Thebes, with Amun again on the left and Mut on the right. All three sculptures are carved from single, fairly heterogeneous blocks of indurated limestone.⁸¹

75. Compare Ch. Kuentz, *La Bataille de Kadesch*, MIFAO 55 (Cairo, 1928).

76. For the *clibinarii* and *cataphracti*, see Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, pp. 76 and 141–42.

77. The *Ala Prima Iovia Cataphractoriorum* was stationed at Pampanis; see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano* 4 (Milan, 1983), pp. 33–34; and S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* 4, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B 41/4 (Wiesbaden, 1988), p. 1824, n. 3.

78. Compare W. E. Crum and H. G. E. White, *Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 2, p. 283 (n. 2 to no. 517), and pp. 324–25; and H. Kortenbeutel, "Germanen in Ägypten," *MDAIK* 8 (1939): 177–84.

79. For pendants to the harness, see Dixon and Southern, *The Roman Cavalry*, pp. 68–69; for peytrals *ibid.*, p. 70; and Hyland, *Equus*, p. 148. For a metal loop hanging from the harness, for suspending streamers, see M. C. Bishop and J. C. Codston, *Roman Military Equipment* (Bucks, 1989), p. 62, fig. 51.3.

80. For a prehistoric graffito preserved on a later worked stela, however, see the Pan Grave stela discussed in B. B. Williams, *Excavations Between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier 5: C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma Remains at Adindan Cemeteries T, K, U, and J*, OINE 5 (Chicago, 1983), pp. 100–01 [and p. 104].

81. Partly metamorphosed and compacted; see R. Klemm and D. D. Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin and Heidelberg, 1993), pp. 199–223; and T. De Putter and Chr. Karlshausen, *Les Pierres utilisées dans la sculpture et l'architecture de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Brussels 1992), pp. 63–69; see also W. Peck, "A Seated Statue of Amun," *JEA* 57 (1971): 73.

PLATES 214–216. THE LARGE DYAD OF AMUN AND MUT

The large dyad on the west side⁸² is broken into two major pieces along the midsections of Amun and Mut. A photograph taken by Frederich Koch in 1912 (pl. 166) shows the statue in its present position, but the figures of Amun and Mut are complete only to their waists, so the restoration of their upper bodies must have occurred after this date. There is a sizable vertical crack in the center of the back support; the front of the back support between the two figures is mostly missing, as well as the front left portion of the base. The forearms, ankles, and feet of both deities are missing, as is Mut's right breast, knee, and shin, and Amun's left pectoral, knee, and shin. Sometime after 1912 and before 1928 the sculpture was reconstructed, and the structural losses (the missing base, back support, and join lines) were filled with a light colored hard cement surfaced with a white lime mortar.⁸³ Until recently the limestone and cement infill were streaked with a dark, vertical staining, brown to reddish-brown in color.⁸⁴ This staining occurred when the statue was exposed to the elements, and the staining on the infill shows that the process continued after restoration. Areas of the staining on the stone and the cement infill have been lightened by rainwater in vertical drip marks the color of the natural stone. In the last decade the staining had become noticeably more pronounced.⁸⁵

As restored, the large dyad group is preserved to the top of Amun's helmet crown and to the lower part of Mut's double crown. The rest of her double crown, Amun's plumes, and the

upper back support were made of separate pieces of stone, now completely missing. The rear half of Amun's helmet is cut down to form a trough 28.4 cm long and 2.8 cm deep into which the plumes would have been inserted (pl. 214F). Amun's head (pl. 215A–E) is well preserved except for the chin and beard, which are partly broken away. His face tapers down from high cheekbones to a wide chin. The narrow eyes are highlighted with a carved upper lid line, and the outer canthus and pronounced brow ridge wrap around both sides of his skull. The eyebrows were not carved, but the brow ridge (and the eyelids as well) were roughened for the application of painted cosmetic lines. Another roughened area along both jaw lines is delimited by faint incised outlines and indicates the presence in antiquity of a painted chin strap for Amun's beard, now missing (pl. 216A). The mouth is wide and upturned at the corners in a gentle smile. Although the lips are broken away on the right side proper, the deep dimple of the corner of the mouth is preserved in the damage.

When the dyad was reassembled prior to 1928, Mut's face was missing, having been sheared off in a vertical break at the ears; only the back of her head was intact. The presence of three dowel holes in the broken face area, one at chin level, one at the goddess' upper left temple, and the third at her right ear, indicates that the face fragment had fallen off previously and been restored in antiquity.⁸⁶ The face of the goddess was located in 1995 in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and was restored to the dyad in January 1997.⁸⁷ Mut's face (pl. 215F–J) displays round, soft cheeks, a broad chin, and upturned, smiling lips. Her eyes are emphasized with a carved upper lid line, and cleaning revealed well-preserved black-painted cosmetic lines around the eyes, painted pupils, and traces of the painted eyebrows.⁸⁸ Red-painted caruncles are present in the inner canthi of both eyes, and traces of red paint are preserved on the mouth and just below the right ear. The nose and lips of the goddess were damaged in antiquity, probably when it originally fell, and were repaired with a patchstone that has since fallen away,

82. Nelson number C 48; total height of Amun (including base, to top of helmet) 3.16 m; height of Mut (to top of preserved crown, including base) 3.16 m; width at base 1.85 m; depth at base 1.68 m; height of base 34.0 cm; height of throne of Amun 99.25 cm; height of Amun's face from chin to top of helmet 54.5 cm; height from Amun's chin to helmet line 33.5 cm; width of Amun's face from cheekbone to cheekbone ca. 34.0 cm; width of Amun's shoulders ca. 1.06 m; narrowest width of king's waist (just above the hips) 53.0 cm; height of Amun's lower leg from the sole of the foot to the top of the knee 1.20 m; greatest width of Mut's wig ca. 60.0 cm; height of Mut's wig (from bottom of lappet to bottom of double crown) 90.0 cm; narrowest width of Mut's waist (just above the hips) 46.0 cm; greatest width of Mut's hips ca. 60.0 cm; height of Mut's lower leg from the sole of the foot to the top of the knee 1.14 m.

83. This mortar was in place by 1928; see M. Pillet, *Thebes, Karnak, et Louxor* (Paris, 1928), p. 140, fig. 113. The mortar has chipped on the front of the back support and on Mut's waist, exposing the darker, rougher cement beneath, and in other places it has formed a crackle pattern, suggesting a different shrinkage rate than the cement.

84. This staining was largely removed by Dr. Ellen Pearlstein of the Brooklyn Museum in January 1997 with a saturated solution of ammonium citrate (diammonium hydrogen citrate) in distilled water, buffered to a pH of 10 using ammonium hydroxide, applied with a brush and rinsed, or applied as a poultice using sepiolite clay as the carrier. The results of her work and analysis are included here.

85. Dr. Pearlstein examined the staining with a 40× magnification microscope and ultraviolet light and determined that the staining was made up of dissolved limestone and trapped particulate, indicating a chemical reaction of the limestone with windblown dirt and dust. An Amun head from a similar colossal dyad excavated at Karnak in fragments at the turn of the century (see discussion below) and now in the storage collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, shows the same vertical streaking, which must have occurred in antiquity after it was exposed to the elements, before it was broken into pieces and buried.

86. The dowel holes are all approximately 1.5 cm in diameter and, except for the chin hole, are 6.0–7.0 cm deep, tapering to a point. The two dowel holes preserved on the top of Mut's crown are of the same dimensions.

87. Dimensions of this face: height 65.5 cm; greatest width 49.0 cm; height from chin to wig line 28.5 cm. The three- to four-hundred pound (about 180 kilos) fragment was hoisted into position and restored to the statue by Dr. Ellen Pearlstein, assisted by Hiroko Kariya and Dany Roy. The restoration would not have been possible without the generous assistance of the SCA, and in particular Dr. Abd el-Halim Nur ed-Din, Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Antiquities; the Director of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Dr. Mohamed Saleh; and the Supervisor of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, Dr. Mohamed el-Saghir. Special thanks are also extended to Dr. Hourig Sourouzian, whose generosity in sharing her photographic archives led to the identification of the face. Mrs. Marjorie Aronow and Mr. Jack Josephson generously contributed the funding that permitted the restoration of the statue in time for this publication. For more detailed reports, see W. R. Johnson, "The Year of the Goddess," *Chicago House Bulletin* 7, No. 1 (Luxor, December 15, 1995); idem, "Mut Goddess Statuary Update," *Oriental Institute News & Notes* 151 (Fall 1996): 6–7.

88. As on the face of Amun, the eyebrows were not carved, but the underlying stone was roughened in preparation for the painted cosmetic line.

leaving a square hole just above the lips.⁸⁹ A broken dowel hole at the right ear, an intact dowel hole at the upper left temple, and traces of a third under the chin match those on the back of the head fragment.⁹⁰ Mut sports a long striated wig, whose two front lappets extend to her breasts and stop just above the nipples. The wig is surmounted by a vulture headdress, the wings of which pass behind Mut's ears and descend halfway down the two lappets. The legs and claws of the vulture holding *šn*-signs can be seen at the back of the head on both sides, while tail feathers are visible hanging down the back lappet on the left side where it meets the back support. Although the upper part of the goddess' uraeus is broken away, the silhouette of its scar suggests that the single cobra was crowned with a horned disk.⁹¹ The lower section of the double crown is preserved both on the face fragment and the back of the head. The upper portion of the double crown, now missing, was held in place by two dowels probably added at the time of restoration. One dowel hole survives on the top of the face fragment, and another is centered atop the back of the goddess' head.

Mut's body is voluptuous, with full breasts and wide hips. The size of her head, like Amun's, seems overlarge for the body and gives them both a decidedly youthful aspect; the effect is exaggerated with Mut because her shoulders are missing. Mut's right arm embraces Amun from behind, and the fingers of her right hand can be seen on the back of Amun's right shoulder (pl. 214D), while her left hand lies extended on her lap, palm down. Mut wears a wraparound sheath dress of vulture wings that begins just below the breasts. The dress is supported by two thin shoulder straps that pass along the outer curve of each breast, leaving the nipples exposed (pl. 216B).

Amun's body is idealized and youthful, with broad shoulders and a high, muscular pectoral area tapering to a thin waist that begins to swell at the hips into a paunch typical of the post-Amarna period. A pronounced vertical groove descends from the god's sternum to his navel. Amun's hands, mostly destroyed, lie extended on his lap, the right hand palm down, while the left holds an *ankh*. Both deities wear *wsh*-collars made up of five rows of differentiated tube beads and an outer, sixth row of drop beads, armbands, and at least one wristlet (preserved on Mut's left wrist; Amun's wrists are destroyed). Amun wears a knee-length pleated god's kilt with a *tît*-knot suspended from the belt; the belt itself is decorated with a border pattern. Traces of red paint on his legs and body indicate that at least parts of the figure were painted. Amun's streamer is carved in raised relief in the thickness of the back support on his right side, curving down from the back of the helmet and

terminating at the top of the throne back support (pls. 214D and 215A).

The thrones of Amun and Mut were ornamented with incised borders delineating the perimeter of both sides and the front. The sides of both thrones were originally decorated with the *smꜣ tꜣ.wy* device of bound papyrus and sedge plants framed by an incised border in the lower rear quadrant; the devices and their borders were subsequently erased and the sides reinscribed with Ramesses II's cartouches and epithets.⁹² The outer front panels of the thrones, which were inscribed with the names of the king responsible for the dyad, were also erased (as well as the decorated borders) and were reinscribed for Ramesses II without borders (pl. 216E and H).⁹³ The central panel (pl. 216F–G) located between the two thrones consists of two vertical lines of sunk relief text naming Amun and Mut; this is undoubtedly original to the piece, since the carving style is markedly finer than the Ramesside inscriptions. Roughened surfaces attest that all three sides of the base of the dyad were erased, but only the front was reinscribed. Although the back of the dyad is inscribed for Ramesses II, the carefully smoothed surface indicates that it had originally been left blank (pl. 214E).

PLATE 214. B. THE BASE OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹[Live ...] ²[Live ... Ramess]es[-Meramun, li]ke [R]e.

PLATE 214. E. THE BACK PILLAR OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹Words spoken by Amun-Re, king of the gods: "O my beloved son, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, the son of Re, [Ra]messes-Merapun, given life like Re forever,^a I am your august father from whom you have come forth. ²[I have given to you etern]ity as king like Atum, with the result that you celebrate jubilees millions of times like Tatenen;^b ³[I have given to you ...], your strong arm powerful,^c with the result that you are firm like Khepri, and your limbs are rejuvenated." ⁴[Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven: "O] my [beloved son], Usermaatre-Setepenre, given life like Re forever, I am your effective mother, who created your perfection; ⁵[I have given/caused ... Re-Hor[akhty], O king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, given life like Re forever, beloved of Mut the great, lady of heaven, like Re." ⁶"Your name shall endure like heaven, O lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre; ⁷as heaven exists so shall your monuments exist, O lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, ⁸given life like Re."^d

89. This squared-off recess is lined with a red substance that must relate to the ancient repair, and which appears to be organic.

90. There are a series of deep (3–4 mm) smooth parallel abrasions in the face fragment under the chin and on the right temple that were caused by the barrel of the drill when the face was repaired. This evidence suggests that the face was strapped back into place and the original repair dowels were then drilled through the face and into the dyad fragment.

91. Elsewhere in the hall, reliefs of the aegis of the goddess on her divine barge and portable barks show her wearing the same uraeus; see *RILT* 1, pls. 14, 40, 59, 67, and 113 (barks); pl. 30 (barge).

92. Traces of the *smꜣ tꜣ.wy* device can still be seen on the left side of the throne (see pl. 216D).

93. They are cut back 1.0 cm (right proper) and 2.5 cm (left proper) from the surface of the central, usurped panel.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe central portion of each column of text consists of the prenomen and nomen of Ramesses II, with a portion of the tag “given life like Re forever.” The first portion, *dī ‘nh mī R*, appears in columns 1 and 2 and is repeated in columns 4 and 5, with *d.t* in the central column 3 shared among them. Note, however, that *dī ‘nh mī R* is read right to left in each group, maintaining the predominant right to left orientation of the inscriptions on the back of the statue. For references to Ptah-Tatenen and the jubilee, see above, n. *a* to pl. 172 and n. *a* to pl. 195.

^cCompare *Battle Reliefs*, pl. 28, ll. 7–8: *rn.f nht hpš.f wsr* (also *ibid.*, pl. 4, ll. 9–10: *hpš.f wsr m qn.t*).

^dThe predominant right to left orientation of the texts on the back of the statue, already disrupted by the need to read *d.t* in l. 3 again after the *dī ‘nh mī R* following the names of the king in ll. 4–5, is again broken by ll. 6–8. The texts face in towards the center of the statue, but the left column clearly takes precedence, due to the presence there of the prenomen and the opening *dī ‘nh* of the tag following the king’s name. These wishes are repeated in ll. 2–4 on the back pillar of the statue of the seated king (see pl. 217C, below).

PLATE 216. C. THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE THRONE OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, ³given life like Re, ⁴beloved of Amun-Re-Horakhty, lord of heaven.

PLATE 216. D. THE LEFT SIDE OF THE THRONE OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, ³given life like Re, ⁴beloved of Mut, lady of Asheru.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

Note the trace of the sedge plant flowers of the original *sm* *t3.wy* device, to the right of the bottom of the nomen.

PLATE 216. E. THE RIGHT FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of ritual, Usermaatre-Setepenre, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of heaven.

PLATE 216. G. THE CENTRAL FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost of Karnak, [chief] [of] the gods,^a lord of heaven, ruler of the gods. ²Mut the great, lady of Asheru, [...],^b [lady] [...], lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe surviving portion of a sign below the area of the plural strokes of *īp.t-s.wt* belongs to the ear of the *tp*-sign in the epithet *hry-tp n ntr.w*; for this epithet of Amun, see *Wb.* 3, 140/6; Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter*, pp. 12, 21 (n. 7), and 84; and P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), pp. 167–68. The restoration of this title also suits the full writing of the three *ntr*-signs. The space between the traces of *tp* and *ntr.w* suggests the presence of the indirect genitive in the epithet.

^bThe traces suit the syncretistic presence of the name of the goddess Bastet or Sekhmet, with a vertical sign filling the left third of the square, with two *t*-loaves in the middle and a seated goddess to the right.

PLATE 216. H. THE LEFT FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE LARGE DYAD

TRANSLATION

Son of Re, his beloved, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, beloved of Mut, lady of heaven.

PLATE 217. THE STATUE OF THE SEATED KING

The colossal seated king⁹⁴ is broken at the waist and is missing both arms as well as the right shoulder. The head is broken on a diagonal from the right shoulder up to the king’s left ear, and although the face is lost, the back of the head and the back pillar are preserved all the way to the top of the *nms*-headress (pl. 217D).⁹⁵ The gather or tieback of the *nms* is rendered in raised relief on the thickness of the back support, and the *nms* itself is flattened at the top for an additional element, possibly the double crown, now missing. Two fragments from this statue were found in the Luxor Temple blockyards: a section of the lower face and chin and a portion of the left forearm (pl. 218).⁹⁶ The king is seated with both hands extended palm

94. Nelson number LC 50; total height 3.55 m; height of base 87.90 cm; height of throne 1.31 m; width at base 93.50 cm; width of throne 87.00 cm at bottom, 84.80 cm at top; width of inscribed back support 34.40 cm; depth of base ca. 1.63 m.

95. The torso and head fragments were restored to the body sometime after the turn of the century.

96. Face height 40 cm; details preserved: part of the king’s left ear with pierced lobe, the deep dimple of the right corner proper of the mouth, a double neck line under the chin, the beard support, and a small section of upper beard (left side proper). Arm length 40 cm.

down on his lap, and he wears a pleated *šndy.t*-kilt; the pleats of the kilt are not carved on the lap, which is not visible from the ground, and the belt is undecorated. The king wears the standard *wsh*-collar made up of six rows of differentiated tube beads and a seventh terminal row of drop beads. His body is represented in an idealized fashion that is stylistically identical to the Amun figure of the large dyad, with broad shoulders, a high, muscular chest which tapers to a narrow waist and slight paunch, and a pronounced vertical groove which descends from the sternum to the navel. Traces of dark yellow paint on the legs, particularly on the statue's right side, indicate that at least parts of the statue were painted.

The base of the statue, presently inscribed for Ramesses II, has been taken back so far that its front surface now lies flush with the toes of the king, indicating the removal of a good deal of stone by Ramesses II's workmen, who must have been obliged to chisel away a deeply carved text. The front text panels of the throne also appear to have been cut back and reinscribed. The sides of the throne, now engraved with Ramesses II's titulary, display no indication of previous decoration. The left side proper has no decorative border (pl. 217I), and while the right side proper does (pl. 217E), it is crudely carved, stylistically different from the original borders preserved on the two dyads, and thus probably original to Ramesses II. The smoothed back of the statue (pl. 217C), now engraved with three columns of Ramesses II's titulary, was originally uninscribed.

PLATE 217. C. THE BACK PILLAR OF THE SEATED KING

TRANSLATION

¹[Live, Horus: mighty bull, son of] Amun,^a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, lord of jubilees like his father Horus-Tatenen, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, ⁴given life like Re forever. ²"Your [name shall] endure like heaven, O lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ⁴given life like Re forever; ³as heaven exists so shall your monuments exist, O lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ⁴given life like Re forever."^b

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aFor the Horus name, see *KRI* 2, 425/8, 501/11, 599/15, 600/16, 604/5, and 605/4.

^bCompare lines 6–8 on the back pillar of the large dyad, pl. 214E, above.

PLATE 217. E. THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE THRONE OF THE SEATED KING

TRANSLATION

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, ³given life forever, ⁴beloved of Amun-Re-Horakhty.

PLATE 217. F. THE RIGHT FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE THRONE OF THE SEATED KING

TRANSLATION

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, Usermaatre-Setepenre, beloved of Amun-Re.

PLATE 217. G. THE BASE OF THE SEATED KING

TRANSLATION

SOUTH SIDE

¹Nekhbet, lady of Upper Egypt, as she gives life and dominion. ²Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, ³the lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ⁴the lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, ⁵given life like Re.^a

NORTH SIDE

⁶Wadjet, lady of Lower Egypt, as she gives life and dominion. ⁷Horus: mighty bull, beloved of Re, ⁸the lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ⁹the lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, ¹⁰given life like Re.^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aThe cartouches and horizontal line of text below them are read twice. The horizontal line is written in two halves, each meant to be read towards the center of the composition. In the right half of the line, *mī R*, honorific transposition places the name of Re at the right end of the line.

PLATE 217. H. THE LEFT FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE THRONE OF THE SEATED KING

TRANSLATION

Son of Re, beloved of all the gods, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, beloved of Amun.

PLATE 217. I. THE LEFT SIDE OF THE THRONE OF THE SEATED KING

TRANSLATION

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, ³given life like Re, ⁴beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven.^a

NOTE TO TRANSLATION

^aCompare this orthography of *t(3) p.t* in *Beit el-Wali*, commentary p. 11, n. e; see also *RILT* 1, p. 12, n. b to pl. 26. Compare also Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, p. 218b; Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 548; and Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 39; contra Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 239 and n. 1. For the bread loaf itself as *t3*, see W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), p. 600; M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*,

Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3 (London, 1987), p. 182; and idem, "Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens 1: Sprache*, ed. F. Junge (Göttingen, 1984), p. 391, n. 33.

PLATES 219–222. THE SMALL DYAD OF AMUN AND MUT

The small dyad⁹⁷ on the east side of the hall depicts Amun on the viewer's left, preserved up to mid-plume, and Mut on the right, whose upper body is mostly broken away. Although missing when first excavated, the head of Amun (pl. 220A–E) was recovered in excavations north of the Ramesside pylon of Luxor Temple in the foundations of a Byzantine church in 1958.⁹⁸ Amun's face tapers down from the high cheekbones to a wide chin. The right eye has been destroyed; the left is slightly oblique and narrow, with a subtly modeled upper lid. The outer canthus and brow ridge wrap around the side of the skull, and a roughened area along both jaw lines indicates the existence in antiquity of a painted chin strap for the now missing beard. The nose and mouth are partly obscured by a rectangular patchstone of indurated limestone, a repair whose carving seems not to have been completely finished.⁹⁹ On either side of the patchstone are preserved the corners of the god's mouth, which was wide. The corners of the mouth turn up slightly, which would have given Amun a faint smile.

The god's body is represented in an idealized fashion, well proportioned but not muscular, with a small head set atop broad shoulders and a high chest, a narrow waist, and a stomach that at the hips begins to swell into a small paunch characteristic of the post-Amarna period. The arms are thick, and the pectoral area is full and high with widely spaced nipples. The two deities hold the *ankh* in their left hands, and Amun's right hand is extended on his lap, palm down. Amun wears a pleated kilt that is uncarved on the lap, a belt decorated with a border pattern, and a beaded *wsḥ*-collar made up of six rows of undifferentiated tube beads with an outer seventh row of drop beads, but no armlets or bracelets. As on the large dyad, Amun's streamer is carved in raised relief in the thickness of the back support on his right side (pl. 220A). The preserved outline of Mut's torso indicates that she had a narrow waist that swelled at the hips. Her surviving right arm is bent at the elbow, and she rests her hand on the back of Amun's shoulder nearest to

her.¹⁰⁰ Mut wears a long form-fitting plain sheath dress that terminates above her ankles. On her preserved right arm Mut wears an armlet and wristlet; above her feet she sports anklets. Sometime during the Christian period a cross was carved on the front of her skirt just below her knees (pl. 219D, Gr. 95).

Two fragments of sculpture that belong to the small dyad are published in the Egyptian Museum Catalogue Général, as numbers CG 919A and B.¹⁰¹ These fragments are in fact separate blocks that formed part of a late restoration of the dyad, which must have suffered severe damage in antiquity, and both are made of a fine limestone that is quite different from the statue's original indurated limestone.¹⁰² One block comprises the head of Mut (pls. 220F–J, 221A–C), which is adorned with a goddess' long tripartite wig and vulture crown, and the second comprises the torso, the two pieces joining at the base of the neck. The goddess' nose, partly broken away, is a patchstone similar to that on Amun's face. The torso block (pl. 221B–G) is broken at the level of the nipples, and the goddess' left breast, stomach, and left forearm are missing. The torso was attached to the original statue at shoulder level with a dove-tail cramp; half of the cramp emplacement is still preserved on the statue body and the other on the torso block (see pl. 221G). The head was joined to the top of the shoulders with mortar, concealing the cramp, and a third block, now missing, completed Mut's double crown.

Mut wears a *wsḥ*-collar made up of seven rows of undifferentiated tube beads, terminated by an eighth row of drop beads, and a beaded armlet around her left arm. Great care seems to have been taken to match the style of the restoration with the style of the original; the shape of the skull, the naturalistic rendering of the ears, the long lappets of the wig, and the detailing of the vulture crown compare very well to the goddess of the Luxor Museum dyad, probably the mate to this statue (see below). Only the rendering of the facial details—the wide eyes with their long, swooping raised cosmetic line and the hieroglyphic mouth with undercut lower lip—betray a much later date.¹⁰³

Between the figures of Amun and Mut there is a rectangular slot on the pedestal that probably served as the inset for a small standing statue of the king, which might have been

97. Nelson number LC 49; total height of Amun (including base) 2.74 m; height of Mut (to preserved shoulder, including base) 1.75 m; width at base 1.36 m; depth at base 1.30 m; height of base 37.0 cm; height of throne of Amun 63.5 cm, throne of Mut 66.0 cm; height of Amun from seat of throne to top of helmet 1.21 m; width of Amun's shoulders 70.0 cm; height of Amun's lower leg from the sole of the foot to the top of the knee 78.0 cm; length of Amun's foot 37.0 cm; height of Mut's lower leg from the sole of the foot to the top of the knee 76.0 cm; length of Mut's foot 36.0 cm; dimensions of hollowed emplacement (for small statue, probably of the king) between the deities at the foot of the thrones are 33.5 cm by 18.0 cm by 7.2 cm deep.

98. A. Muhammed, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations Carried Out in the Temple of Luxor, Seasons 1958–1959, and 1959–1960," *ASAE* 60 (1968): 262, #6, pls. LXXIX and LXXX.

99. Dimensions: 5.5 cm by 7.5 cm.

100. This somewhat awkward pose is also found in relief form on the north wall of the Colonnade Hall, east side; see *RILT* 1, pl. 119.

101. Dr. Hourig Sourouzian first suggested these fragments as possible matches to the small dyad. Permission was granted to study the pieces in March 1996 at the Egyptian Museum, and examination soon revealed that CG 919A and B are indeed the missing head and body of Mut, but they do not belong to the original goddess. Sincere thanks are extended to her, and also to Dr. Mohamed Saleh, Dr. Adel Mahmoud, May Trad, and Dr. Betsy M. Bryan for their generosity and assistance.

102. CG 919A: height 39 cm at front, 42 cm at back, width 35 cm, depth 39 cm; CG 919B: preserved height 34 cm, width 46 cm, depth ca. 26 cm.

103. Mr. Jack Josephson, after examining photographs of CG 919A and B, kindly provided the information that, based on its stylistic features, Mut's restoration probably dates to the later Ptolemaic period, when a considerable amount of restoration work was initiated around Thebes; for a close parallel for the treatment of the eyes and mouth, see CG 678, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, limestone, height 74 cm, published in D. Wildung and S. Schoske, *Nofret - Die Schöne* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 154–55, catalog no. 73. Analysis of CG 919A and B remains ongoing.

added later, perhaps when Ramesses II appropriated the piece for himself. The pedestal, throne, and back are inscribed for Ramesses II in the same rough-cut sunk relief as the large dyad; traces of the original internal square with a *smꜣ tꜣ.wy* device can still be seen on the left side of the throne (pl. 219I), although the right side of the throne was left undecorated before the statue was moved and reinscribed.¹⁰⁴ The outer front panels were surcharged by Ramesses II, who erased the original inscriptions; the middle panel between the two figures appears never to have been decorated. The front of the base was erased and possibly the sides as well, but only the front was reinscribed. The back is inscribed for Ramesses II, but was originally anepigraphic, as with the large dyad and seated king.

PLATE 219. C. THE BACK PILLAR OF THE SMALL DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹[Live Horus: mighty bull, ...],^a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, given life like Re forever;^b ²[live Horus: mighty bull, ...] ...,^c king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, given life like Re forever; ³[live Horus: mighty bull, ...] his limbs,^d king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, given life like Re forever; ⁴[live Horus:] mighty [bull], son of Atum,^e rich in years like his father Horakhty, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, given life like Re forever.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^aThe portion of the *serekh* surviving in l. 3 supports the reasonable conclusion that the four lines all began with the Horus name of the king consisting of *kꜣ nḥt* with a following elaboration, the Horus name itself being followed by another, varying epithet.

^bThe wish following the names of the king is written in a peculiar manner, *dī 'nh mī Rꜥ* appearing once at the end of l. 1 and 3, *mī Rꜥ* appearing once at the end of l. 2, and *d.t* once at the end of l. 4.

^cAt the break are the remnants of the lower right portion of a circular sign with a raised center.

^dThe ends of the *h*-twist and the bottoms of the three flesh signs are visible.

^eFor the Horus name, see *KRI* 2, 408/14, 411/1, 421/10, 422/8, 424/3, 431/9, 448/7, 501/6, and 503/1.

PLATE 219. D. DETAIL OF THE FIGURE OF MUT: GRAFFITO OF A CROSS (GR. 95)

During the Christian period a Coptic cross was roughly carved on the shins of the goddess, using a series of crude pecking marks.

PLATE 219. E. THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE THRONE OF THE SMALL DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, ³given life like Re, ⁴beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of heaven.

PLATE 219. F. THE RIGHT FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE SMALL DYAD

TRANSLATION

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre-Setepenre, beloved of Amun.

PLATE 219. G. THE BASE OF THE SMALL DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹Live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun.

PLATE 219. H. THE LEFT FRONT TEXT PANEL OF THE SMALL DYAD

TRANSLATION

The bodily son of Re, lord of glorious appearances, Ramesses-Merapun, beloved of Amun-Re.

PLATE 219. I. THE LEFT SIDE OF THE THRONE OF THE SMALL DYAD

TRANSLATION

¹The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre-Setepenre, ²son of Re, Ramesses-Merapun, ³given life like Re, ⁴beloved of Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands.

EPIGRAPHIC COMMENTS

Traces of the original *smꜣ tꜣ.wy* device are still visible: part of the horizontal upper border that intersects the two cartouches and, over the words *dī 'nh mī Rꜥ*, the bottom of the *smꜣ*-sign and base of the heraldic plant to the left.

104. This detail probably reflects the situation of its original placement in the hall, close beside another statue on its right.

PLATE 222. THE LUXOR MUSEUM DYAD J833

This indurated limestone statue J833 was discovered in 1989 by the Supreme Council for Antiquities in a cachette of ancient Egyptian statuary buried in Amenhotep III's solar court at Luxor Temple.¹⁰⁵ The dyad (referred to from this point on as the Luxor Museum dyad) is composed of the god Amun on the viewer's right, and the goddess Mut on the left, the reverse orientation of the small dyad in the Colonnade Hall. Mut's figure is largely intact, but Amun is preserved only up to shoulder level due to the circumstances of the statue's burial.¹⁰⁶

Amun sits with both hands on his lap, his left hand (now missing) once holding an *ankh*, whose traces are still visible, and his right hand extended palm down. The god wears a pleated god's kilt, a wristlet on his right forearm, and a *wsh*-collar made up of six rows of differentiated tube beads and an outer seventh row of drop beads. Mut sits beside him with her left arm disappearing behind her husband's waist (her fingers appear around Amun's torso at the back) and her right hand extended on her lap, palm down. Mut wears a plain, close-fitting sheath dress, a wristlet on her right forearm, a *wsh*-collar made up of six rows of differentiated tube beads and an outer row of drop beads, and a feathered vulture crown (very lightly carved) with uraeus worn over a long, striated tripartite wig that stops just above the nipples of her breasts. Mut's head and wig together are narrowly proportioned. Although now worn away, the uraeus was originally topped with a horned disk. Above her headdress the goddess wore the double crown; the upper part of the crown was made of a separate piece of stone, now missing.¹⁰⁷ Mut's face is long and tapers gradually to a small round chin. Her nose is attenuated, slightly curved, and its underside curves up at the tip. Mut's lips are full, but not wide, nor are they smiling. The upper and lower lips are of the same thickness, and her mouth droops slightly at the outer corners, giving her an expression of melancholy. The goddess' ears are long and narrow, with heavy lobes that are pierced

with a horizontal slit.¹⁰⁸ Mut's eyes are small, narrow, and rather close-set, with pinched inner canthi; the outer canthi rise slightly, and they have been given a partial cosmetic line that extends the length of the eye, just below a carefully carved upper lid line. Although her eyebrows were not carved, the area was roughened slightly for painted brows. Red paint traces on her face suggest that the carved details on Mut's face were augmented with paint.

The goddess' waist is unusually narrow for the size of her hips, shoulders, and full breasts. Both deities' hands and feet are noticeably elongated. On the statue socle between Amun and Mut is a rectangular socket for the insertion of a third statue, probably that of the king.¹⁰⁹ No trace of such a statue was recovered in the cachette.

The dyad is inscribed on the front, back, and sides with the names and epithets of Ramesses II in a roughly cut sunk relief style that is in marked contrast to the finely carved names and titulary of the deities inscribed in the space between their heads.¹¹⁰ This usurpation is consistent with that of the small dyad of the Colonnade Hall. The two outer front panels have been taken back and recarved, and the space between the lower legs of the two figures is uninscribed. Close scrutiny also reveals that Ramesses II's titulary on each side of the throne is superimposed over a roughened area at the lower rear quadrant that probably contained the *smꜣ tꜣ.wy* device of entwined sedge and papyrus plants. All three sides of the base were erased, but only the front was reinscribed. As is the case with the other statues, the back is inscribed for Ramesses II but was originally anepigraphic.

105. See M. el-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple* (Mainz, 1991), pp. 58–61. This statue bears the number Luxor Museum J833; preserved height 2.48 m; pedestal width 1.19 m; depth 1.17 m.

106. When the cachette pit was dug to deposit unwanted but still sacred statuary, probably during the installation of the cult of the deified Roman emperor in Luxor Temple, this sculpture appears to have been deposited first by tipping it in upside down. Amun's entire upper section was shattered on impact, and Mut's upper body snapped off at the hip in one piece. Mut's torso and head were recovered intact and were reunited with her body later. Amun's torso was also reattached to his body, but his face and crown were smashed beyond recovery; see el-Saghir, *Discovery of the Statuary Cachette*, p. 20.

107. A similarly proportioned upper section of a double crown in red granite was found in the excavations and, despite the difference in material, might have formed the top to Mut's crown; see el-Saghir, *Discovery of the Statue Cachette*, p. 57. If the crown does belong to the Mut figure, the proportions (a very high red crown in relation to the white crown) dictate a later date, possibly Ptolemaic, for the upper granite part (for a parallel, see the double crowns of the Horus falcon statues at Edfu). As such, it might have been part of a late restoration. Parts of the dyad appeared to have been repaired in antiquity with gypsum plaster; see *ibid.*, p. 58.

108. The pierced lobes are one indication that the living queen is depicted here in the role of the goddess, who would not have been shown with pierced ears.

109. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the socket held a statue of Khonsu; see *ibid.*, p. 58. Similar seated group statues that included a diminutive figure of the king were commissioned during the reign of Tutankhamun and Ay, but the royal figure was carved from the same block of stone and was not added later. For a small, indurated limestone head of Tutankhamun wearing the *hprš*-crown and the right hand of Amun touching the back of the crown in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 50.6), see A. Lansing, "A Head of Tut'ankhamun," *JEA* 37 (1951): 3–4; also W. K. Simpson, "The Head of a Statue of Tut'ankhamun in the Metropolitan Museum," *JEA* 41 (1955): 112–14. For Cairo JE 36705, a triad statue in which the base was clearly usurped by Hor-emheb, see M. Dewachter, "À propos de deux groupes monumentaux de Karnak," *BSFE* 87–88 (1980): 23, figs. 5 and 6; this sculpture preserves traces of Ay's prenomen on the outer left panel and, as in the Luxor Museum dyad, the feet of the two deities are noticeably elongated. Fragments of another, larger group excavated by Georges Legrain at the turn of the century and now in storage in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, are also described in Dewachter's article. The colossal head of Mut on display in the Egyptian Museum, room 12 (Cairo CG 602+918), excavated earlier at Karnak by Auguste Mariette, belongs to this group.

110. Referring to Mut: "[...] mistress of I]sheru, mistress of heaven, lady of the two lands." Referring to Amun: "[...] Opet."

THE DATING AND ORIGINAL PLACEMENT OF THE STATUES

THE SMALL DYAD AND THE LUXOR MUSEUM DYAD

The style of all of the Colonnade Hall statues is the post-Amarna style of the late Eighteenth Dynasty,¹¹¹ typical of the reigns of Tutankhamun, who was responsible for most of the decoration of the Colonnade Hall; Ay, who completed the facade after Tutankhamun's death; and their successor Horemheb, who systematically usurped many of the monuments of both kings. Because the statues were appropriated and the original inscriptions were erased, the textual evidence for the date of the pieces is lacking (negative evidence aside, such as the presence of erased inscriptions that imply earlier ownership). Tutankhamun's sculpture is largely characterized by narrow shoulders and a low chest; full, soft pectorals and nipples often set close together; and high, fairly wide hips from which swells the king's soft belly, very unlike the idealized physique of the Amun figures of the Colonnade Hall dyads.¹¹² Since the carved decoration of the hall was left unfinished by Tutankhamun, one reasonable presumption is that the statuary commissioned to adorn the monument was likewise never completed during his lifetime.

There are several possible locations for the original placement of the Eighteenth Dynasty statuary in the Colonnade Hall as indicated by the presence of areas of wall surface that were never carved. On the south wall, to the east and west of the south doorway, are reliefs of the king offering before Amun and Amunet (on the east side) and Amun and Mut (on the west); both contain sizable portions of uncarved wall where statues were likely to have been set up (see the key plans fig. 6, and *RILT* 1, pls. 52 and 54). Since these scenes existed only in paint at the end of Tutankhamun's reign and were not carved until the reign of Sety I (*RILT* 1, p. xvii), the uncarved areas doubtless indicate the presence of statues placed against the wall at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, around which the stonecutters of Sety I were forced to maneuver in order to complete their work.

The uncarved area to the east of the doorway, in the scene depicting Sety I offering flowers to Amun and Amunet, mea-

sures ca. 2.35 m high and ca. 1.50 m wide,¹¹³ while the larger void to the west of the doorway measures ca. 2.00 m high and 2.85 m wide (*RILT* 1, pl. 52). It is tempting to propose that the two smaller dyads, now in the Colonnade Hall and in the Luxor Museum, were commissioned as a pair and were originally erected on either side of the south portal. The colonnade dyad would have been set up on the east side, corresponding to the arrangement of the deities on that wall (Amun on the left, the goddess on the right), while the Luxor Museum statue might have been positioned on the west side, where Sety I is shown offering to Amun and Mut, with the arrangement of the major figures on both wall and sculpture again in correspondence (Amun on the right, Mut on the left). The orientation of the statue inscriptions seem to confirm such an arrangement. The back pillar of the small colonnade dyad is inscribed with four columns of text containing the titulary of Ramesses II, all of which would have faced west, toward the south portal leading to the sun court, consistent with the orientation of the king in the wall reliefs. Like the text columns, the final group epithet, "given life like Re forever," requires a reading from left to right (west to east). The back pillar of the Luxor Museum dyad also contains four columns of vertical text, two referring to Amun and two to Mut, each pair of columns facing each other in a symmetrical arrangement.¹¹⁴ Although there is no overt orientation, the reading of the final epithet, "given life like Re forever," stretched out over all four columns, mandates a reading from right to left, that is, east to west, again in accord with the suggested placement for this statue and in complementary relationship to the dyad opposite.

The negative areas on the wall, however, do not precisely conform to the silhouettes of the statues. The small dyad (2.76 m high, 1.36 m wide) is higher and slightly narrower than the void on the wall, but it may be that the sculptors were able to carve part of the wall behind the statue by reaching down from above. In the case of the Luxor Museum dyad (2.48 m high, 1.19 m wide), the statue is slightly higher but much narrower than the extensive negative space, suggesting the presence of a second statue placed against the southwest wall of the Colonnade Hall before the reign of Sety I. Another curious feature is the marginal inscription of Merneptah, now effaced, but which originally continued around the southwest corner of the hall and ends somewhat abruptly, part of the way along the Eighteenth Dynasty dado, perhaps another indication of statuary still in situ against the wall at that time.

THE SEATED KING

An additional silhouette is preserved at the southeast corner of the hall, on both the east and south walls, and roughly corresponds to the shape and dimensions of the statue of the

111. The post-Amarna style is typified by a relaxed, naturalistic rendering of the human form, an outgrowth of Akhenaten's art at Amarna, which was itself influenced by late Middle Kingdom sculpture; non-hieroglyphic facial elements, lidded eyes, heavy-lobed ears, and swelling stomachs are all hallmarks of the style. For the principles of Amarna art, see C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York, 1973), pp. 48–66 and 72–79; also E. Rusmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), pp. 112–23. For a discussion of post-Amarna art, see *ibid.*, pp. 123–45.

112. For an appraisal of the different styles of Tutankhamun and Ay, see W. R. Johnson, "Hidden Kings and Queens of the Luxor Temple Cachette," *Amarna Letters* 3 (Winter 1994): 139–44, who suggests that the colonnade sculpture was probably commissioned at the very end of Tutankhamun's reign for the inauguration of the hall but was finished, inscribed, and set up by his successor Ay, the model for the goddess in the two smaller dyads being Tutankhamun's widow, Ankhesenamun. See also Peck, "Seated Statue of Amun," pp. 73–79. Dr. Marianne Eaton-Krauss is presently preparing an in-depth analysis of all of the known sculpture of Tutankhamun.

113. *RILT* 1, pl. 54. The width of the negative space is measured between the toes of Sety I and the goddess, where the ground line has been omitted; the height is only approximate because of damage to the wall in that area.

114. See el-Saghir, *Discovery of the Statue Cachette*, p. 59, fig. 124. The photograph of the back pillar has inadvertently been reversed in the printing.

seated king.¹¹⁵ If the statue was moved by Ramesses II to its present location, however, it could not have been erected originally in the southeast corner, because this area was still inaccessible during the reigns of Merneptah and Ramesses IV, whose marginal inscriptions stop well short of the corner (pl. 172). The probable explanation is that Ramesses II moved the seated king, surcharged the existing inscriptions and inscribed the back, and then turned it back to the wall again, with the back pillar hidden from view. The smaller dyads would have received similar treatment, with their newly-inscribed back pillars turned against the wall in roughly their original positions.

Because the scale and style of the seated king closely match the large dyad, it is probably contemporary with that group.

THE LARGE DYAD

The date and original location of the large dyad are somewhat problematic. Although it is stylistically similar to the smaller dyads of the Colonnade Hall and of Luxor Museum, particularly in the idealization of the figures, there are some important differences as well. The heads of the deities in the large dyad are larger proportionally to their bodies than in the small dyads, the body of the Amun in the large dyad is more muscular than its smaller counterparts, and the physiques of the goddesses of the smaller dyads are more attenuated. In the large dyad, the facial features of the Amun and the muscular treatment of the idealized body may be compared most closely to the features of the colossal limestone seated statues of Ay usurped by Horemheb and found in the remains of their mortuary temple.¹¹⁶ It is possible that the large dyad was set up by Ay later in his reign at the north end of the Colonnade Hall, several years after that section of the hall had been carved and painted.¹¹⁷

Regardless of date, if the large dyad was positioned to correspond directly with raised relief scenes of Amun and Mut—

in the manner proposed for the smaller dyads—it would have found a place on the east side of the north interior wall, perhaps pendant to a second large dyad on the west side, now missing. The text between the thrones of the divine couple may also support an original position at the north wall. Traces of the central text panel (pl. 216G, n. *b*) indicate that Mut is referred to on the statue as either “[Sekhm]et” or “[Bast]et,” corresponding to an epithet of Mut on the north wall, east side, first register, that associates her with Sekhmet.¹¹⁸ Doorjamb reliefs on the north exterior facade, east side, depict Mut as the feline-headed “Mut, lady of heaven, Bastet who resides in Isheru” (pl. 144, l. 7). In the corresponding scene on the west side a similar feline-headed goddess, whose name is now lost, is probably to be identified either as Mut-Bastet or Mut-Sekhmet (pl. 149, n. *c*). Feline goddesses proliferate in this area, perhaps a reference to their role as protector of the king when he entered the temple complex.¹¹⁹ In addition, the texts of the back pillar of the large dyad consist of speeches of Amun and Mut, both of which are to be read from right to left, that is, west to east, favoring a placement for this statue on the east side of the Colonnade Hall.

THE USURPATION AND RESTORATIONS OF THE STATUES

The stylistic criteria, erased details, and added inscriptions of the statues indicate that the Colonnade Hall sculptures were produced and set up in various locations in the hall toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty after the reign of Tutankhamun. In usurping the inscriptions, Ramesses II made the unusual effort of cutting back entire areas of the statues’ bases and thrones rather than opting for the simpler expedient of surcharging his own name into an existing cartouche. This extensive recutting might have been necessitated by the fact that the texts had already been usurped once—by Horemheb—and that a double surcharge was simply not feasible, either practically or aesthetically; of course a presumed initial usurpation of the statues by Horemheb argues for their commissioning prior to his reign.

While Ramesses II appropriated the statues for himself, the marginal inscriptions of Merneptah and Ramesses IV at the south end of the east wall of the colonnade seem to indicate that at least the statue of the seated king was still in its original

115. See the key plans fig. 6. See also *RILT* 1, pls. 54 (south wall); dimensions of the uncarved area: height 3.60 m, width ca. 1.90 m; height of seated king 3.55 m, width 87.00 cm, depth of throne 87.50 cm, depth of base 1.63 m; and pl. 56 (east wall, south end); dimensions of the uncarved area: height ca. 3.50 m, upper width 44.50 cm, middle width 66.00 cm, lower width 95.00 cm.

116. The mortuary temple of Ay was usurped by Horemheb and considerably enlarged. For the seated colossal statuary, see U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu 2: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, OIP 41 (Chicago, 1939), pls. 44–50. One statue is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo S. R. 11156 (the number given in Hölscher’s publication does not correspond to a catalog number) and the other is Berlin 1479. It has been observed that the statuary from the mortuary temple is not only typical of a sculptural style to be ascribed to Ay, but that the usurped inscriptions, which bear no trace of Tutankhamun’s names, indicate that the statues were made for Ay alone and were not usurped by him from Tutankhamun; see M. Gabolde, “Le Père divin Ay: Corpus commenté des documents et état des questions” (Ph.D. diss., Lyon University, 1992), pp. 134–39; also Johnson, “Hidden Kings and Queens,” p. 144. For a characterization of the Cairo standing colossus from the mortuary temple as the work of Tutankhamun, see Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 130.

117. For the suggestion that the model for the goddess would have been Ay’s own wife Tiye, see Johnson, “Hidden Kings and Queens,” 148–49. In

this interpretation, Ay would have inherited an indurated limestone statuary program initiated at the very end of Tutankhamun’s reign, and it would have been during Ay’s reign that most of the post-Amarna indurated limestone colossal statuary was executed and set up. Alternatively, the large dyad might have been set up by Horemheb early in his reign, although it bears little resemblance to the few known portrait sculptures of that king; see *ibid.*, pp. 131–36.

118. *RILT* 1, pl. 119 l. 10, in the phrase, “Words spoken by Mut, lady of heaven, ... mistress of all the [gods], the eye of Re, (one) without her equal.”

119. J. Yoyotte, “Une Monumentale litanie de granite: Les Sekhmets d’Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse,” *BSFE* 87–88 (1980): 46–75. For a second large dyad of the same material and scale (the mirror image of the Colonnade Hall large dyad) inscribed for Horemheb but with indications of usurpation, see note 109, above. One possibility is that the two dyads were conceived as a set and separated later.

location during the Twentieth Dynasty. In addition, the present position of the three colonnade statues would have interfered with the cutting back of the bases of columns 1 and 2, an alteration that clearly postdates Ramesses III, who carved his titulary on column 2.¹²⁰ There is thus fairly good reason to suppose that all of the colonnade statues, though reinscribed both front and back by Ramesses II, were left in situ by that king, and their present arrangement must be ascribed to a later date.

The restorations made to the statues in antiquity may provide clues to their later movements. It is perhaps significant that the small dyad suffered extensive damage to the figure of Mut and was restored during the Ptolemaic period, roughly at the same time that extensive renovations were carried out on the east jamb of the south doorway. The wall surrounding the figure of Amenhotep III in the lowermost register of the jamb had to be repaired with several ashlar blocks that are not part of the original stonework of the Colonnade Hall, betokening significant damage to the doorway at some late date, caused perhaps by structural collapse or conflagration; the royal figure was then recarved in purely Ptolemaic style (see pls. 174 and 225A).¹²¹ If the small dyad had originally been erected against the east side of the south wall, its proximity to a catastrophe affecting the south portal would indicate that, by the time of the Ptolemies, the colonnade statues had yet to be shifted to their present positions.

It is possible that the final rearrangement of sculpture in the colonnade took place at the time the subsidiary doorway was built against the south portal (pl. 225D–E), presumably after the Ptolemaic repairs to the scenes of Amenhotep III. The projecting jambs of the subsidiary doorway would have almost entirely concealed any statues standing against the south wall from being viewed from the central axis of the hall, and perhaps it was at this time—the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period—that the statues were at last moved to the north end of the hall. At some indeterminate point the face of Mut on the large dyad sheared off and was strapped back into place.¹²² Holes were then drilled through the face at three locations: under the chin, at the right ear, and upper left forehead, into which the repair dowels were inserted that held the face in place. At a time subsequent to these repairs, the noses of Amun and Mut on the small dyad and the nose of Mut on the large dyad were broken off and had to be carefully repaired

with stone inserts; the consistency of these repairs suggests that the damage was inflicted in a single incident, with the restorations following soon thereafter. Again, the date of the repairs remains uncertain, but it must have occurred after the Ptolemaic restoration to the small dyad and the reattachment of the face of Mut to the large dyad.

Because of its find spot in the cachette of statues in Amenhotep III's sun court, the Luxor Museum dyad was probably moved to the vicinity of that court or to the area of the back sanctuaries, the remodeling of which during the Roman period seems to have provided the necessity for the ritual burial of sculpture in the sun court. The date of this move cannot be ascertained, but unlike the small dyad the statue seems to have survived intact until the moment of its burial.

That the three colonnade statues survived largely untouched in the early Christian period is suggested by the Coptic cross carved on the knees of the small dyad Mut figure (pl. 219D), which "christianized" her in the same way in which the Colonnade Hall Opet reliefs were embellished with similar crosses, but not otherwise defaced.¹²³ The condition of the face of Mut on the large dyad—that is, unmarked with the vertical staining so noticeable on Amun's head and discolored instead with bits of organic material—suggests that her face fell off in the Christian period and lay face down in organic debris until it was excavated in the 1890s. Amun must have stayed exposed to the elements a considerable while longer and became streaked with dirt from the air that reacted chemically with the stone. When excavated, the large dyad was found broken into two major pieces along Amun and Mut's midsections. This breakage might have been accidental, caused by stones falling from the roof or being prised from their positions in the upper walls of the hall, or it might have been intentional, carried out at a time when the statue was still exposed at least waist high, either for iconoclastic reasons or for purposes of the reuse of stone.¹²⁴

Photographs taken by Frederich Koch show the unrestored Colonnade Hall statues in their present position in 1912.¹²⁵ Georges Daressy, sometime after his excavations in 1891/92, noted that Luxor Temple was provided with two sewers which channeled flood waters through it to flush away accumulated salts.¹²⁶ It is possible that the statues were raised up on cement bases after that time in an attempt to protect them from the flood waters. Photographs show the Colonnade Hall statues restored and the cement bases in place by at least 1928.¹²⁷

120. And probably the badly damaged base of column 1 as well; see the commentary to pl. 195, above.

121. Repairs to both jambs are still in evidence, including a small patchstone added to the marginal text of Amenhotep III on the west jamb (see pl. 177C and the epigraphic comments). The causes of the damage are purely conjectural; the subsidiary doorway in the north portal of the Colonnade Hall, it should be remembered, was completely rebuilt by Philip Arrhidaeus after considerable damage to its Ramesside predecessor.

122. Again, the reasons for such damage must remain conjectural. The shearing could have been a result of incautious handling during the repositioning of the dyad or it could have been caused by a collapse of stone from above. The footing for a structural arch, cut into the west face of the northwest architrave block (pls. 129 and 197), suggests that during the Roman period the roof was repaired with mudbrick vaults to support a new roof made of lighter materials. The rebuilding of the roof might have been prompted by some collapse that also sheared off the face of Mut.

123. For these Christian embellishments, see *RILT* 1, pls. 59, 62, and 105; and pl. 210, herein.

124. For the discovery of the head of the small dyad Amun in the remains of a Byzantine church, see n. 98, above. The head and the torso of the small dyad Mut might have been broken away at approximately the same time, but it is not known where these fragments were found.

125. For the large dyad broken at the waist, see pl. 166; for the seated king broken at the waist, see pl. 160.

126. G. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple du Louxor* (Cairo, 1893), p. viii.

127. See Pillet, *Thebes, Karnak, et Louxor*, p. 140, fig. 113.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
art.	article
aux.	auxiliary
caus.	causative
circ.	circumstantial
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
div.	divinity
fem.	feminine
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gr.	graffito, graffiti
inter.	interjection
loc.	locality
M	Merneptah

masc.	masculine
n.	noun
part.	particle
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
R IV	Ramesses IV
RN	royal name
sing.	singular
ult. inf.	class of verbs having a weak final radical
vb.	verb
voc.	vocative
2ae gem.	class of verbs having a geminating second radical
3ae inf.	class of verbs having a weak third radical
4ae inf.	class of verbs having a weak fourth radical

EGYPTIAN

- ʒw* adj. vb. “to be wide, expansive, glad (of heart),” 132:25; 144:18; 161:10; 190:14; 191:13; 192:11, 19; 196A:1
ʒw.t-ib n. “joy,” 144:11 (partly restored); 145:7; 184:12; 185:13; 186:12; 188:16; and in the following compounds:
ʕnh ... nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 139:7 (partly restored)
ʕnh wʒs nb ʒw.t-ib nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 186:18
ʕnh wʒs nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 186:5; 187:21–22; 188:10
ʕnh wʒs nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb qn.t nb nht nb, 187:14
ʕnh nb dd wʒs nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb, 153B:3 (partly restored)
ʕnh dd wʒs nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 190:21
ʕnh dd wʒs nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 144:3; 168:1; 182:6 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 183:6, 11; 186:5; 187:6, 12; 189:6; 190:11; 191:22
ʕnh dd wʒs nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb qn.t nht nb, 167:10
ʕnh dd wʒs snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 193:9, 29
hqʒ ʒw.t-ib, 176A:3; 192:6
snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 147:12 (partly restored)
qn.t nb nht nb ʒw.t-ib nb rʕ nb, 193:7
qn.t nb nht nb snb nb ʒw.t-ib nb, 191:10 (partly restored)
ʒbd n. “month,” in the compound title *hm-ntr imy ʒbd.f* “the priest on duty,” 212:Gr. 76
ʒh adj. vb. “to be glorious, beneficial, effective,” 196A:2; 196B:1; 197B:1; 214E:4

- ʒh.t* n. “horizon,” 186:17; 190:16; 196B:1 (twice); 197A:1 (twice); 197B:1
ʒh.ty nisbe “he of the horizon” (divine epithet); see *Hr-ʒh.ty* and *imn-Rʕ Hr-ʒh.ty*
ʒh(.wt) n. “benefaction(s), what is beneficial,” 172:R IV (three times, twice restored); 173:R IV (twice), M (twice); 196B:1, 2; 197A:1, 2; 197B:2 (twice)
ʒd see *iʒd* “wretch”
i first person sing. suffix pron., passim
iʒw.t n. “old age,” 202:Gr. 3, 2
iʒw.t n. “office,” 145:5 (restored); 147:3 (restored); and in the following compounds:
iʒw.t.i ns.t[.i] ..., 142:11
iʒw.t.i ns.t.i s.t(.i), 156:1 (partly restored)
iʒw.t.i s.t.i ns.t.i ʕʕ.i wnn tp tʒ, 190:10 (partly restored); 191:8; 192:7
iʒw.t (n.t) itm.w, 188:8
iʒd n. “wretch,” 203:2 (written *ʒd*)
iʒ vb. ult. inf. “to come,” 171B:3; 177B:5 (restored); 193:10
iʒ RN “Ay” (in the nomen of Ay), 145:17; 198:frag. 85, 3 (partly restored)
iʒw vb. ult. inf. “to come,” 136:12; 197A:2
iʒw part., 171B:2; 202:Gr. 3, 2
iʒwʕ n. “heir,” 149:11 (restored); 177A:1

īwnw loc. “Heliopolis,” in the ephthet of Atum *īwnwy* “the Heliopolitan,” 194:2. See also *R^c-ms-sw Hq3-īwnw*

īb n. “heart,” 132:25; 136:4 (restored); 144:19; 161:10 (restored); 171B:2; 172:M (three times, once restored, once partly restored); 173:M; 188:12; 189:12; 190:13; 191:13; 192:11 (partly restored), 19; 196A:1; 196B:1; 197A:1; 197B:1 (partly restored). See also *3w.t-īb*, *mḥ3.t(-īb)*, *hry(.t)-īb*

īp.t loc. “Opet,” 144:2; 149:8; 150B:1 (partly restored); 153A:3; 161:3; 171B:4; 172:R IV; 180:3; 181:4–5; 182:3–4; 183:3–4; 184:3–4; 186:4; 187:5; 188:4; 189:5; 190:6, 15; 191:7; 192:4; 193:4, 11; 196A:1; 196B:1 (three times), 2; 197A:1 (twice); 197B:1; 198:frag. 15; 200:6; 202:Gr. 3, 1 (partly restored, uncertain); 212:Gr. 76; 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2

īp.t-s.wt loc. “Karnak,” 153B:3; 165A:3; 173:R IV (twice, once partly restored); 182:12 (restored); 183:12; 185:4–5; 186:4; 188:2; 189:3–4; 191:6; 192:2; 193:8; 196A:2; 196B:2; 197B:2 (twice); 200:7, 13 (partly restored); 216G:1

īmy(.t) nisbe adj. from *m* “which/who is in,” 171B:4; 172:M (twice, once restored); 177A:1; 196B:1; 212:Gr. 76 (in the title *ḥm ntr īmy-3bd.f*); and in the compound:

īmy-(hr-)ḥ3.t “what was before,” 197B:2

īmn div. “Amun,” 132:1 (restored); 136:18; 144:Gr. 6 and Gr. 7; 145:13 (partly restored); 147:16; 154A:1 (partly restored), 2 (restored); 154C:1; 163:1 (partly restored); 165A:1; 171A:11; 171B:15; 172:R IV (twice), M; 173:M (three times, once partly restored); 177A:1 (partly restored), 4 (twice, once restored); 180:1, 20; 181:21; 182:26; 183:26; 187:28; 188:25; 190:28; 192:24; 193:27; 195:Col. 12 (partly restored); 196A:2; 196B:1 (four times), 2; 197A:1, 2; 197B:1, 2 (twice); 200:17, 21; 202:Gr. 2, 5; 202:Gr. 3, 1; 212:Gr. 63, 3; 212:Gr. 72; 212:Gr. 73; 213:Gr. 79; 217H; 219F; and with the following epithets:

īp.t/īpy, 212:Gr. 76; 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2

p3wty t3.wy, 196B:2

nb ns.wt t3.wy, 196B:2; 197B:2

See also *īmn-R^c*; *īmn-R^c Hr-3ḥ.ty*; *īmn(-R^c) K3-mwt.f*; *īmn-ḥtp ḥq3-W3s.t*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mr-īmn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-īmn*; *Wsr-ḥpr.w-R^c Mr-īmn*; *Wsrkn Mr-īmn*; *B3-n-R^c Mr-īmn*; *R^c-ms-sw Mr-īmn*; *Hr-m-ḥb Mr-n-īmn*; *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-īmn*; *Stp-n-R^c Mr-īmn*; *Twt-ḥn-īmn*

īmn-R^c div. “Amun-Re,” 132:2 (restored); 139:1 (partly restored); 142:1 (restored); 147:1; 148B:1 (partly restored); 149:1 (partly restored), 2 (restored); 158:1; 159:frag. 108, rev. 1 (restored); 161:1; 167:2; 172:R IV, M; 173:R IV (partly restored) 174A:5 (partly restored); 177A:, 3 (restored), 5; 177B:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (partly restored); 181:1; 182:2; 186:1 (restored), 24; 187:2; 189:1 (partly restored); 190:2; 191:2, 28; 192:1; 193:1, 12; 194:2, 4, 5, 7, 10; 195:Col. 2; 212:Gr. 80 (partly restored); 217F; 219H; and with the following epithets:

p3w.ty t3.wy nb p.t ḥq3 īp.t-s.wt, 185: 2–5

ms sw 3s.f ntr 3, 200:2 (partly restored)

nb p.t, 196B:1; 216E

nb p.t nswt ntr.w, 145:2 (partly restored)

nb p.t ḥq3 W3s.t, 151A:6–7 (partly restored)

nb ns.wt t3.wy, 169:1; 171A:2 (written *nb ns.t t3.wy*); 194:1, 9, 13; 195:Col. 2; 200:1

nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t, 176A:2 (partly restored)

nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t hry-īb īp.t.f 3ps.t, 181:4–6

nb ns.wt t3.wy hry-īb īp.t.f 3ps.t, 184:2–4

nb ns.wt t3.wy hry-tp ntr.w nb p.t ḥnty īp.t.f, 193:2–4

nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty īp.t.f 3ps.t, 144:1–2

nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty īp.t-s.wt, 165A:2–3

nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty īp.t-s.wt nb p.t ḥnty īp.t.f, 192:2–4

nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty īp.t-s.wt nb nḥḥ hry-īb īp.t.f nb p.t ḥq3 W3s.t, 188:2–5

nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty īp.t-s.wt hry-īb īp.t.f nfr.t, 189:2–5

nb ns.wt t3.wy ḥnty īp.t-s.wt hry-tp n ntr.w nb p.t ḥq3 ntr.w, 216G:1

nb t3.wy, 143A (partly restored); 202:Gr. 2, 2

nswt ntr.w, 171B:2; 194:12, 14; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, once restored, once partly restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored, once partly restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored, once partly restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196B:2; 200:14–15, 19 (partly restored); 202:Gr. 2, 1; 214E:1

nswt ntr.w nb p.t, 147:2; 217I:4; 219E:4

nswt ntr.w nb p.t ḥq3 psd.t, 195:Col. 2

nswt ntr.w nb.w hry-tp psd.t 3.t nb p.t, 167:5–6 (partly restored)

nswt ntr.w ḥq3 W3s.t, 151A:1–2 (partly restored)

nswt ntr.w ḥnty īp.t.f 3ps.t, 180:2–4 (partly restored)

ḥq3 W3s.t, 194:6

ḥq3 W3s.t hry-īb īp.t.f 3ps.t nb p.t, 161:2–3

ḥq3 psd.t, 194:11

ḥnty īp.t.f, 153A:3; 172:R IV (partly restored)

ḥnty īp.t-s.wt, 200:7 (partly restored)

... *ḥnty īp.t-s.wt nb p.t nswt ntr.w nb.w*, 153B:3

īmn-R^c Hr-3ḥ.ty div. “Amun-Re-Horakhty,” 217E:4; and with the following epithet:

nb p.t, 216C:4

īmn(-R^c) K3-mwt.f div. “Amun(-Re)-Kamutef,” 136:1; 163:2; 183:2 (partly restored); and with the following epithets:

nb p.t ḥq3 īp.t-s.wt ḥnty īp.t.f hry-tp psd.t, 186:2–4 (partly restored)

nb p.t ḥq3 W3s.t ḥnty īp.t.f, 187:3–5

ntr n^c3 p3 w3b 3d, 203:1–2 (partly restored)

hry s.t.f wr.t nb p.t ḥnty īp.t.f 3ps.t hry-tp psd.t ..., 190:3–7

ḥnty īp.t.f, 200:5–6 (partly restored)

ḥnty īp.t.f hry s.t wr.t 182:3–5; 183:3–5

q3 3w.ty 3b m nfr.w<f> in-hr.t ḥtp hr nḥt ntr 3 ḥnty īp.t-s.wt nb p.t hry-īb īp.t.f hry s.t.f wr.t, 191:3–7

īmn-ḥtp (Hq3-W3s.t) RN “Amenhotep-Hekawaset” (nomen of Amenhotep III), 144:17 (partly restored); 147:15 (partly restored); 149:15; 163:10; 174A:3 (partly restored); 176A:9; 177B:1, 5; 182:24; 183:13, 24; 188:23; 189:24; 196A:2 (restored);

- 196B:2; 197A:2 (restored); 197B:2 (restored); 198: frag. 88, 3 (mostly restored)
- imn.t* div. "Amunet," with the following epithets:
hry.t-ib ip.t-s.wt, 182:12 (partly restored); 183:12
- in* prep. "by," 132:13; 136:1, 9 (restored); 142:1 (restored), 9 (restored); 144:7; 145:9 (partly restored); 147:7 (restored); 149:2 (restored), 8 (restored); 159:frag. 108, rev. 1 (restored); 168:4; 171B:2; 182:12; 183:12; 184:10; 185:11; 186:10; 187:13; 188:11; 189:11; 190:12; 191:12; 192:10; 193:10; 214E:1, 4 (restored)
- in-hr.t* div. "Onuris," 191:4
- inw* n. "tribute," 177B:5 (restored); 197A:2
- ink* first person independent pron., 136:2 (restored); 144:8; 214E:1, 4
- ir* non-enclitic part., 196A:1; 196B:2; 197A:2
- iry-p^c.t* title "prince," 200:14
- iri* vb. 3ae inf. "make, do, celebrate, engender, dedicate," 132:1 (restored); 136:3, 10 (restored, uncertain); 145:1; 147:1; 148B:1 (restored); 158:1; 161:1; 165A:6; 167:1; 171B:2; 172:R IV (four times, all restored [and once omitted]), M (twice, once restored); 173:R IV (four times, once restored), M (twice, once restored); 176A:8, 11; 177A:2, 3 (restored), 4; 177B:2 (twice, once restored), 3; 180:1, 20 (restored); 181:21 (restored); 182:1; 183:1 (restored); 188:1, 9 (restored), 12, 13, 21; 189:1, 12, 13; 190:14, 22, 25; 191:24; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, once restored), Col. 9 (twice, once restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice), Col. 12 (three times, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1; 196B:1 (three times), 2 (four times); 197A:1; 197B:1; 197B:1 (twice), 2 (three times); 200:1; 202:Gr. 2, 1; 214E:2; 216E; 217F; and in the formula:
ir.f di 'nh "that he may make 'given life,'" 132:1 (restored); 139:1 (restored); 147:1; 148B:1 (partly restored); 149:1; 154A:2 (restored); 154C:1; 161:1; 163:1 (partly restored); 165A:1; 165B:1 (partly restored); 167:3; 171B:1; 176B:1 (partly restored); 177A:4 (*ir.f di 'nh d.t*); 180:1; 181:1; 183:2; 186:1 (restored); 188:1 (partly restored), 20 (written *ir.n.f di 'nh*); 189:1 (restored), 21 (written *ir.n.f di 'nh*); 190:2, 23; 191:2, 22 (partly restored); 192:1, 19 (*ir.n.f di 'nh dd w3s*); 193:1, 21 (*ir.f di 'nh dd w3s nb*). See also *Hpr-hpr.w-R^c ir-m3^c.t*
- ir.t* n. "eye," in the epithet *ir.t R^c*, 200:9
- irp* n. "wine," 181:1
- irt.t* n. "milk," 144:9 (partly restored)
- is.t* div. "Isis," 196A:2; and with the following epithets:
wr.t mw.t ntr nb.t p.t hnw.t t3.wy, 187:13
mw.t ntr nb.t p.t hnw.t t3.wy, 186:10 (partly restored)
- isw* n. "reward," 197B:1
- ist* non-enclitic part., 196A:1; 196B:2; 197A:2
- isrw* loc. "Asheru," in the epithets:
nb.t isrw, 132:13 (restored); 192:10; 193:10; 200:8–9 (partly restored); 216D:4; 216G:2
hry.t-ib isrw, 144:7
- iqr* adj. "excellent," 177A:1; 196A:1 (partly restored)
- it* n. "father," 132:1 (restored); 136:2; 139:1; 145:13 (restored); 154A:1, 2 (restored); 154C:1; 158:1; 167:2; 169:1 (restored); 172:R IV (twice), M (partly restored); 173:R IV (three times), M (four times, once partly restored); 174A:5; 177A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 177B:1, 2, 3; 180:20 (twice, once restored); 181:21 (twice); 183:12; 185:9; 187:13; 188:1, 16; 193:1; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1 (three times, once restored), 2; 196B:1 (three times), 2 (three times); 197A:1 (three times), 2; 197B:1 (four times, twice in groups of three for plural), 2 (three times); 214E:1; 217C:1; 219C:4; and in the title:
it ntr, 212:Gr. 60, 1; 212:Gr. 72; 212:Gr. 73; 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2.
 See also *it-ntr-iy-ntr-hq3-W3s.t*
- it-ntr-iy-ntr-hq3-W3s.t* RN nomen of Ay (usurped by Horemheb), 136:16; 141:frag. 1949, 2; 145:17; 198:frag. 85, 3
- ity* n. "sovereign," 172:R IV, M; 173:R IV, M
- itmw* div. "Atum," 136:19; 139:2 (partly restored); 158:2; 171B:6; 173:R IV; 176A:11; 180:9; 185:26; 187:8; 188:8; 191:15; 192:8; 193:5, 14; 196A:1; 214E:2; 219C:4; and with the following epithet:
nb t3.wy itnw, 194:2
- itin* n. "sun disk," 147:4; 167:8; 171B:16 (partly restored); 191:9; 192:5; 196A:2
- iti* vb. 3ae inf. "to seize, to take possession of," 149:13 (partly restored); 172:M (restored); 177B:1
- idb* n. "bank," 173:M (restored); 192:14. See also *H^c mi R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*
- ^c n. "arm"; see *r-^c.wy* "two arms, actions"
- ^c.t n. "limb, member," 149:10 (restored); 168:6; 182:8 (restored); 183:8; 186:7 (restored); 190:18; 196A:1
- ^c3 adj. (1) "great," 139:1 (restored); 143D:1; 165A:6; 167:6; 172:R IV, M (partly restored); 177A:3 (restored), 4 (twice); 177B:2; 196A:2; 196B:2; 197A:2; 202:Gr. 3, 2; and in the compound: *ntr* ^c3, 136:14; 142:13; 144:13; 147:13; 154A:3; 154C:2; 186:17; 191:6; 200:2 (partly restored); 200:12; (2) n. "great one," 190:12; and in the compound: ^c3 *hps*, 147:15. See also the compound preposition *n-^c3.t-n*
- ^c3b.t n. "hecatomb," 139:1 (restored)
- ^cb vb. "to boast," 191:3
- ^cbw n. "lettuce," 154A:2; 154C:1
- ^cnh (1) vb. "to live," 143A; 143B; 143D:1, 2 (twice); 153A:1, 2 (haplography); 156:7; 158:6; 172:R IV (twice), M (restored); 173:R IV, M (restored); 195:Col. 2 (three times, all restored), Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored); Col. 6 (twice, both restored); Col. 7 (twice, both restored); Col. 8 (twice, both restored); Col. 9 (twice, both restored); Col. 10 (twice, both restored); Col. 11 (twice, both restored); Col. 12 (twice, both restored); Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 217C:1 (restored); 219C:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (restored), 4 (restored); 214B:1 (restored), 2 (restored); and in the following compound:

k3 nswt ‘*nh*, 180:14; 181:15; 182:21; 183:21; 184:16; 185:20; 186:19; 187:23; 188:19; 189:20; 190:22; 191:21; 192:18; 193:20

(2) n. “life,” 136:8 (restored), 13 (restored); 145:18; 147:1; 154A:2 (restored); 154C:1; 163:11; 165A:7; 176A:14; 181:12; 185:17, 19; 186:9; 188:17 (the sign held in the goddess’ hand), 24, 28; 189:18, 25; 190:2, 19 (the sign held in the goddess’ hand), 23, 27; 191:2, 20, 26; 192:1; 193:1, 18, 25; 202:Gr. 3, 2; and in the following compounds:

‘*nh* ..., 151A:5

‘*nh* ... *nb*, 132:12 (restored); 139:3 (partly restored); 189:26 (partly restored)

‘*nh* ... *nb snb nb* ... *nb*, 163:6 (partly restored)

‘*nh* ... *nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 139:7 (partly restored)

‘*nh* ... *dd*, 182:18

‘*nh w3s*, 144:5, 10 (partly restored); 145:4; 161:14; 167:14; 171C:1; 176A:13; 180:11; 182:9; 183:8, 18; 185:12; 186:8; 190:18 (restored)

‘*nh w3s* ..., 191:18

‘*nh w3s nb*, 145:20; 184:11; 185:10

‘*nh w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 186:18

‘*nh w3s nb snb* ..., 144:14

‘*nh w3s nb snb nb*, 132:19 (partly restored); 150A:1 (partly restored); 183:16; 184:15, 23; 185:8

‘*nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 186:5; 187:21–22; 188:10

‘*nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nb nht nb*, 187:14

‘*nh w3s dd.t*, 171B:10–11

‘*nh wd3 snb*, 202:Gr. 2, 4

‘*nh nb snb nb*, 139:6; 186:26 (partly restored)

‘*nh nb dd w3s nb*, 167:18

‘*nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb*, 153B:3 (partly restored)

‘*nh dd w3s*, 144:18; 147:18; 149:6; 161:13; 165A:9; 167:13, 17; 171A:5, 6; 176A:7; 177B:5; 181:13 (partly restored); 184:9; 187:30; 188:20; 189:21; 190:8; 192:16, 19, 23; 193:16; 196A:1; 197B:2

‘*nh dd w3s* ..., 150B:2; 191:11

‘*nh dd w3s nb*, 132:28 (partly restored); 147:5; 156:6; 158:5; 168:8; 171C:2; 180:12; 181:20; 185:27; 186:11; 187:19 (partly restored); 192:15; 193:8, 21

‘*nh dd w3s nb* ..., 191:17

‘*nh dd w3s nb* ... *nb*, 182:16

‘*nh dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 190:21

‘*nh dd w3s nb snb nb*, 180:19; 181:7; 182:20 (as ‘*nh dd w3s snb nb*), 27; 183:20, 27; 191:30; 200:4

‘*nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 144:3; 168:1; 182:6 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 183:6, 11; 187:6, 12; 189:6; 190:11; 191:22

‘*nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nht nb*, 167:10

‘*nh dd w3s snb*, 189:10

‘*nh dd w3s snb* ..., 190:31; 192:9

‘*nh dd w3s snb nb*, 144:6; 145:8

‘*nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 193:9, 29 (partly restored)

‘*nh dd nb*, 163:5 (partly restored)

di ‘*nh*, 132:1 (restored), 23 (restored); 136:17; 139:1 (restored); 143A (partly restored); 143B (partly restored); 144:18 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*); 145:18; 147:1, 18 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*); 148B:1 (partly restored); 149:1; 153A:3; 153B:3 (‘*nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb*); 156:5 (restored); 158:4 (restored); 161:1; 163:1 (partly restored), 11; 165A:1, 12; 165B:1; 167:3, 17 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*); 168:12; 171A:10; 171B:1, 14; 172:R IV (twice), M; 173:R IV (four times, once restored); 174A:6; 176B:1; 177A:4; 177B:1 (partly restored), 5 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*); 180:1, 18; 181:3, 19; 182:25; 183:2, 25; 184:20; 185:24; 186:1 (restored), 23; 187:27; 188:1, 20; 189:1 (restored), 21 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*), 25; 190:2, 23, 27; 191:2, 22 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*), 26; 192:1, 23 (*di* ‘*nh dd w3s*); 193:1, 25; 194:6, 7; 195:Col. 2, Col. 3 (restored), Col. 4, Col. 5 (restored), Col. 6 (restored), Col. 7 (restored), Col. 8 (restored), Col. 9 (restored), Col. 10 (restored), Col. 11 (restored), Col. 12 (restored), Col. 13 (restored); 196A:1, 2; 214E:1, 4, 5, 8; 216C:3; 217C:4; 217E:3; 217G:5, 10; 217I:3; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:3; 219I:3

(3) n. “the living (ones),” 173:M; 183:14–15; 187:10; 191:21.

See also ‘*nh-m-m3*‘.t

‘*nh-m-m3*‘.t RN “who lives on *maat*” (Horus name of Ramesses IV), 172:R IV; 173:R IV (partly restored)

‘*nh* n. “ear,” in the title ‘*nh.wy* “the ears (of the king),” 212:Gr. 60, 2

‘*h* n. “palace,” 171A:1; 196A:2

‘*h*‘ n. “lifetime,” 136:6 (restored); 142:5, 10; 145:4; 184:6; 189:7; 190:10; 191:8, 9; 192:5; 202:Gr. 3, 2; and in the following compounds:

i3w.t.i s.t.i nst.i ‘*h*‘.i *wn(n)(.i) tp t3*, 190:10; 191:8; 192:7

‘*h*‘ n *R*‘, 139:2 (partly restored), 4 (partly restored); 145:10 (restored); 158:2; 161:4; 171B:7 partly restored); 180:9; 187:7; 188:7; 190:17; 191:15; 192:8; 193:5, 13

‘*3* n. “cedar,” 177A:3

‘*33* adj. “many, manifold, abounding (in),” 174A:4 (restored); 185:9

‘*q* vb. “to enter,” 144:9 (partly restored)

w (1) qualitative ending, 171B:2 (third person sing. masc., restored); 177B:3; 183:13 (third person sing. masc.); 193:8 (third person pl. masc., written *wy*); (2) 3rd person pl. suffix pron., 172:M; 173:M

w3.t n. “way, side, road, path”; see *Wp-w3.wt*

w3.h vb. (1) trans. “to bow,” 197A:2 (erased); (2) intrans. “to endure,” 197B:1

w3s n. “dominion,” 198:frag. 88, 1; and in the following compounds:

‘*nh w3s*, 144:5, 10 (partly restored); 145:4; 161:14; 167:14; 171C:1; 176A:13; 180:11; 182:9; 183:8, 18; 185:12; 186:8; 190:18 (restored)

‘*nh w3s* ..., 191:18

‘*nh w3s nb*, 145:20; 184:11; 185:10

- nh w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 186:18
nh w3s nb snb ..., 144:14
nh w3s nb snb nb, 132:19 (partly restored); 150A:1 (partly restored); 183:16; 184:15, 23; 185:8
nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 186:5; 187:21–22; 188:10
nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nb nht nb, 187:14
nh w3s dd.t, 171B:10–11
nh nb dd w3s nb, 167:18
nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb, 153B:3 (partly restored)
nh dd w3s, 144:18; 147:18; 149:6; 161:13; 165A:9; 167:13, 17; 171A:5, 6; 176A:7; 177B:5; 181:13 (partly restored); 184:9; 187:30; 188:20; 189:21; 190:8; 192:16, 19, 23; 193:16; 196A:1; 197B:2
nh dd w3s ..., 150B:2; 191:11
nh dd w3s nb, 132:28 (partly restored); 147:5; 156:6; 158:5; 168:8; 171C:2; 180:12; 181:20; 185:27; 186:11; 187:19 (partly restored); 192:15; 193:8, 21
nh dd w3s nb ..., 191:17
nh dd w3s nb ... nb, 182:16
nh dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb, 190:21
nh dd w3s nb snb nb, 180:19; 181:7; 182:20 (as *nh dd w3s snb nb*), 27; 183:20, 27; 191:30; 201:4
nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 144:3; 168:1; 182:6 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 183:6, 11; 187:6, 12; 189:6; 190:11; 191:22
nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nht nb, 167:10
nh dd w3s snb, 189:10
nh dd w3s snb ..., 190:31; 192:9
nh dd w3s snb nb, 144:6; 145:8
nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 193:9, 29 (partly restored)
w3s snb nb qn.t nb, 192:26 (partly restored)
- W3s.t* loc. “Thebes,” 136:9; 142:9; 144:15; 145:17 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored); 151A:2, 7; 161:3; 172:R IV, M (twice, once partly restored); 173:R IV, M; 177A:1; 187:3; 188:5; 194:6; 196B:1; 197B:2; 198: frag. 85, 3 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored), frag. 88, 3 (in the nomen of Amenhotep III, partly restored); 200:12. See also *imn-htp (Hq3-W3s.t)*; *it-ntr-iy-ntr-hq3-W3s.t*; *hry-ib W3s.t*; *hry.t-tp W3s.t*
- W3d(y).t* div. “Wadjet,” 150A:2 (partly restored); 151A:5; 161:14; 163:8; 165A:9; 167:11 (restored); 176A:13 (partly restored); 185:18; and with the following epithets:
py.t Dp(y).t nb.t p.t, 158:3 (partly restored)
nb.t p.t, 181:12
nb.t Mhw, 191:29
- w^c* adj. “sole,” 145:5; 147:3; 184:22
w^cb title “w^cb-priest,” 212:Gr. 63, 3
w^cf vb. “to subdue, subjugate,” 136:11 (partly restored); 182:9 (partly restored); 183:9; 186:8 (restored); 187:13; 192:13. See also *mk-Km.t w^cf-pd.t-psd.t*
- wy* interj. “how (+ participle),” 193:10
wpi vb. 3ae inf. “to separate, open”; see *Wp-w3.wt*
- Wp-w3.wt* div. “Wepwawet,” with the following epithet:
Šm^cw šhm t3.wy, 171A:3
- wnn* vb. “to be, exist,” 161:6 (*wnn.t*); 190:10; 191:87; 192:7; 193:8; 197A:1; 214E:7 (twice); 217C:3 (twice)
- wr* (1) adj. vb. “to be great,” 173:M; 174A:4; 182:5; 183:5; 190:5; 191:7; 187A:2; 195:Col. 2 (restored); 196B:2; 197A:2. (2) *wr(.t)* n. “great (one), chief” 132:13 (restored); 136:12 (restored); 147:7 (restored); 187:13; 188:11; 189:11; 190:12; 192:10; 193:10; 196B:2; 197A:2 (twice); 198:frag. 2223; 200:8; 212:Gr. 60, 1; 214E:5; 216G:2. (3) *wr(.t)* adv. “very, exceedingly,” 185:9. See also *Wr.t-Hk3.w*; *Wsr-rnp.wt wr-nht.w*
- Wr.t-hk3.w* div. “Weret-Hekau,” 196A:2
- wħm* vb. “to repeat,” 182:15
- wsr* adj. “powerful, great,” 172:M; 173:M; 196A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 196B:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 197A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 197B:1 (restored), 2; 214E:2. See also *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mr-imn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-imn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c*; *Wsr-rnp.wt wr-nht.w*; *Wsr-rnp.wt mĩ it.f Hr-3hty*; *Wsr-hpr.w-R^c Mr-imn*
- Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mr-imn* RN “Usermaatre-Merapun” (prenomen of Ramesses III), 195:Col. 2
- Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-imn* RN “Usermaatre-Setepenamun” (prenomen of Ramesses IV), 172:R IV (four times, twice partly restored); 173:R IV (five times, three times partly restored); 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored)
- Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c* RN “Usermaatre-Setepenre” (prenomen of Ramesses II), 214E:1, 4, 5, 6; 216C:1; 216D:1; 216E; 217C:1, 2, 3; 217E:1; 217F; 217G:3, 8; 217I:1; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:1; 219F; 219G:1; 219I:1
- Wsr-rnp.wt wr-nht.w* RN “powerful of years, great of strength” (Horus of Gold name of Ramesses IV), 172:R IV; 173:R IV (partly restored)
- Wsr-rnp.wt mĩ it.f Hr-3hty* RN “rich in years like his father Horakhty” (Horus name of Ramesses II), 219C:4
- Wsr-hpr.w-R^c Mr-imn* RN “Userkheperure-Merapun” (prenomen of Sety II), 154A:4 (partly restored); 154C:3 (partly restored), 5 (partly restored); 156:3, 7 (partly restored); 159:frag. 108, obv. 1, frag. 2229, 1 (partly restored); 194:1 (twice), 2 (*twice), 4 (twice) 5 (twice), 6 (twice), 7 (twice), 9 (twice), 10 (twice), 11 (twice), 12 (twice), 13 (twice), 14 (twice)
- Wsrkn Mr-imn* RN “Osorkon-Merapun” (Osorkon I), 202:Gr. 2, 2
- wsrw* n. “power,” 149:2 (restored); 188:8; 197A:2; 202:Gr. 3, 2
- wšb* vb. “to answer, protect,” 203:2
- wtt* vb. “to engender, beget,” 196A:2
- wts* vb. “to lift up, elevate,” 196A:2; 196B:2
- wdi* vb. 3ae inf. “to place, give,” 177A:2
- wd3* n. “prosperity,” 202:Gr. 2, 4

- b3w* n. “(divine) power,” 136:12; 142:8; 177A:4; 177B:4; 193:15; 197A:2
- B3-n-R^c Mr-*imn** RN “Baenre-Meramun” (prenomen of Merneptah), 143A (partly restored); 143B (partly restored); 172:M (nine times, once restored, five times partly restored); 173:M (seven times, once restored, six times partly restored); 195:Col. 2 (twice, once partly restored)
- (*m*)-*b3h* prep. “on front of, before,” 202:Gr. 3, 1
- B3s.t* div. “Bastet,” 144:7
- b3k* vb. “to work (with metal),” 177A:3; 177B:3
- b3k* n. “servant,” 202:Gr. 3, 1
- b3k.t* n. “dues, revenues,” 177A:3 (twice, both partly restored)
- b33* n. “*b33*-metal,” 149:10; 168:6
- b33y.t* n. “marvel(s),” 174A:4
- b3ty* see under *nswt b3ty*
- bw* n. “place,” 197A:2 (erased); and in the expression *bw-nfr* “good things,” 173:R IV
- bnw* n. “phoenix”; see *h.t-bnw*
- bhd.ty* div. “the Behdetite” (epithet of Horus of Edfu), 163:7; 171A:4; 182:17; 183:17; 187: 20; 190:20; 191: 19; and with the following epithets:
- ntr* 3, 136:14; 142:13; 154C:2
- ntr* 3 *pr m 3h.t*, 186:16–17
- ntr* 3 *nb p.t*, 154A:3
- ntr* 3 *s3b 3w.t nb p.t*, 147:13
- ntr* 3 *s3b 3w.t nb msn*, 144:13
- P* loc. “Pe,” in the compound epithet *Py.t Dp(y).t* “she of Pe and Dep,” 158:3
- p.t* n. “heaven, sky,” 145:11 (partly restored); 147:4; 176A:5 (restored); 184:8; 190:16; 191:9; 192:5; 193:5; 196B:1 (twice); 197A:1 (twice); 197B:1; 214E:6, 7; 217C:2, 3; and in the following compounds:
- nb p.t*, 145:2; 147:2, 13; 151A:7; 153B:3; 154A:3; 161:3; 167:6; 168:4; 176A:2; 181:4; 185:2; 186:3; 187:3; 188:5; 190:6; 191:7; 192:3; 193:3; 195:Col. 2; 196B:1; 216C:4; 216E; 216G:1; 217I:4; 219E:4
- nb.t p.t*, 132:13 (partly restored); 144:7; 147:7 (partly restored); 156:2; 158:3; 168:7; 172:M (restored); 180:7; 181:9, 12; 184:10; 185:11; 186:10 (partly restored); 187:13; 188:11; 189:11; 190:12; 191:12; 194:1, 4, 10, 13; 214E: 4, 5; 216G:2; 216H; 219I:4
- p3* dem. and def. art. “this, the,” 202B:Gr. 3, 1; 203:2 (restored); 205:Gr. 17
- p3w.ty* n. “primeval one,” in the epithet:
- p3w.ty t3.wy*, 185:2; 196B:2
- p^c.t* n. “patricians”; see *iry-p^c.t*
- pw* dem. adj., 196B:1
- pn* dem. adj., 165A:6; 168:3; 188:9 (restored), 13; 189:13; 196B:2
- pr* n. “house, palace, temple, domain,” 173:M (restored); 174A:5; 176A:1; 177A:4 (restored); 197A:1, 2; 197B:1, 2 (twice); and in the compound *pr-dw3t* “robing room,” 182:21; 183:21; 184:16; 185:20; 186:19; 187:23; 188:20; 189:21; 190:23; 191:21; 192:18; 193:20; 196B:1, 2; 212:Gr. 76
- prl* vb. 3ae inf. “to go forth,” 172:M (restored); 186:17; 196B:2; 197A:2; 214E:1
- pr.t* n. “seed,” 196A:2
- Plyps* RN “Philip” (nomen of Philip Arrhidaeus), 153A:2; 153B:2
- ph.ty* n. “strength,” 136:19; 142:3; 161:6; 172:R IV; 182:8 (partly restored); 183:7; 184:21; 186:7 (partly restored); 190:18 (partly restored); 196A:1; 196B:2; 197A:2 (twice)
- ps3* n. “share,” 145:4 (partly restored); 182:8 (partly restored); 183:8; 186:8; 190:18; 196A:1
- psd* n. “back,” 177B:5 (partly restored)
- psd.t* n. “ennead,” 167:6; 171B:4; 172:R IV, M (partly restored); 186:4 (restored); 190:7 (partly restored); 194:11; 195:Col. 2; 196B:1; 197B:2
- psd(.t)* adj. “nine”; see *pd.t psd.t*
- ptpt* vb. “to trample,” 147:15; 196B:2; 197A:2
- Pth* div. “Ptah,” 190:12; and with the following epithet:
- nfr-hr*, 196A:1 (partly restored). See also *Sty Mr-n-Pth*
- Pth-T3-*inn** div. “Ptah-Tatenen,” 172:R IV; 173:R IV; 195:Col. 2 (partly restored), Col. 3 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 4 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 5 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 6 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 7 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 8 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 9 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 10 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 11 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 12 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 13 (twice, both partly restored)
- pd.t* n. “bow,” 142:4; 196A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 196B:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 197A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 197B:1, 2
- pd.t psd.t* n. “the nine bows,” 136:4 (restored); 145:6; 147:14; 171A:3 (partly restored); 177B:4; 188:15; 189:15; 193:15; 196A:1; 196B:1; 197B:1. See also *mk-Km.t w^cf-pd.t-psd.t; snht Km.t dr pd.t-psd.t*
- f* third person sing. masc. suffix pron., 132:1 (twice, both restored), 12 (restored), 25 (twice, once restored), 28 (restored); 136:5, 6 (twice, once restored), 8 (restored), 13 (restored), 18, 19; 139:1 (twice, once restored), 3 (restored), 7; 144:2, 6, 14; 145:8, 20; 147:1; 148B:1 (restored); 149:1; 150B:1; 153A:3; 154A:1, 2 (twice, both restored); 154C:1 (twice); 158:1; 161:1, 3, 4; 163:1, 6; 165A:1, 7; 165B:1 (restored); 167:2, 3, 18; 169:1; 171A:5, 6, 9; 171B:1, 15 (restored); 171C:1 (restored), 2; 172:R IV (six times, once restored), M (six times, twice restored); 173:R IV (seven times), M (nine times, four times restored); 174A:3 (restored), 5; 176A:1, 9, 14; 176B:1 (partly restored); 177A:1 (twice, once restored), 2 (four times, twice restored), 3 (restored), 4 (twice); 177B:1 (twice, once restored), 2 (four times, twice restored), 3 (three times), 4 (twice, once restored); 180:1, 3, 19, 20 (twice, once restored); 181:1, 2, 5, 20, 21 (twice); 182:4, 11, 18, 20 (omitted), 27 (restored); 183:2, 4, 11, 12 (twice), 18, 20, 27; 184:4 (restored), 9, 21 (twice), 23; 185:10, 23, 27; 186:1 (restored), 4, 18, 25; 187:5, 12, 21, 30; 188:1 (twice, once restored), 4, 7, 10 (restored), 20, 28; 189:1 (restored), 5, 10 (restored), 21, 26 (restored); 190:2, 4, 6, 11, 21 (twice), 23, 26, 29, 31 (restored); 191:2, 7 (twice), 20, 22, 25, 30; 192:1, 4, 19 (twice), 22,

- 26; 193:1 (twice), 4, 9, 13, 21, 24, 28, 29; 195:Col. 2 (twice), Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1 (seven times, once omitted, once restored), 2 (twice); 196B:1 (twelve times), 2 (thirteen times); 197A:1 (eleven times), 2 (fourteen times); 197B:1 (twelve times, once restored), 2 (twelve times); 198:frag. 85, 1, frag. 15; 200:2, 6, 16 (twice), 18 (twice, once restored), 20 (twice); 202:Gr. 3, 1, 2; 212:Gr. 63, 2; 212:Gr. 76 (twice); 216H; 217C:1; 219C:3, 4; 219H. See also *K3-mw.t.f*
- f3l* vb. 3ae inf. “to elevate,” 190:1; 191:1 (partly restored)
- Fnh.w* n. “the *Fnh.w*-people (of the Asiatic littoral),” 177A:5; 177B:4
- fnq* n. “nose,” 144:5; 149:6; 176A:7
- fdw* n. “four”; see *sp-fdw*
- m* prep. “in, as, with, by, during, being/consisting of,” 132:15; 136:4 (restored), 5 (restored), 6, 7, 9, 11, 12 (restored); 139:5; 142:9, 10; 143A (twice); 143B (twice, once restored); 143D:2; 144:5, 9 (twice), 12, 15; 145:4, 5 (restored), 6 (restored), 11 (restored); 147:3, 4; 149:9, 10, 11 (restored), 12; 161:4, 7, 8, 10 (omitted); 165A:6 (three times); 168:2, 5, 6 (twice, once omitted); 169:1 (restored); 171A:1, 2 (restored), 3; 171B:2, 5, 9; 172:R IV (three times), M (four times, once as *im*, twice restored); 173:R IV (three times), M (seven times, five times restored); 174A:5; 177A:1, 2 (four times, once restored), 3 (five times), 4 (four times); 177B:2 (restored), 3; 180:1 (restored), 20; 181:11 (three times), 21; 182:9 (restored), 13, 22; 183:8, 22; 184:6; 185:6, 7, 26; 186:6, 8, 17; 187:9; 188:6, 7, 9, 21; 189:7, 9; 190:8 (twice), 18 (restored), 28; 191:3, 9 (*im.s*), 16; 192:1, 5 (*im.s*, partly restored), 6 (twice), 12; 193:1, 5, 6 (twice), 8 (twice), 15; 196A:1 (seven times, twice restored), 2 (five times, once restored, once written *n*); 196B:1 (seven times, once *im.s*), 2 (seven times); 197A:1 (six times, once written *im*, once restored), 2 (six times, once restored); 197B:1 (eleven times), 2 (eight times); 198:frags. 1323 and 1325, 1 (uncertain); 200:11; 202:Gr. 3, 1, 2 (twice); 212:Gr. 76 (omitted); 214E:1 (as *im*), 2. See also *imy-(hr-)h3.t*; *nh-m-m3^c.t*; (*m*)-*m3w.t*; *h^cy-m-m3^c.t hnk sy n R^c m hr.t-hrw*
- m3* adj. “new, fresh,” 177A:3 (partly restored)
- m33* vb. 2ae gem. “to see,” 177B:5; 190:15; 191:14; 192:11; 197A:1 (twice); 197B:2
- m3^c* adj. vb. “true, real, genuine, proper, presentable (of offerings),” 139:1 (restored); 148B:1 (partly restored); 172:M; 177A:3; 200:15 (twice), 20, 21; 202:Gr. 2, 1, 5; 202:Gr. 3, 1; 212:Gr. 76
- m3^c.t* n. “maat” (= right order), 143A; 143B (restored); 143D:2 (restored); 153A:3; 172:R IV (twice); 173:R IV, M; 192:1; 197A:1. See also *nh-m-m3^c.t*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mr-imn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-imn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c*; *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*; *Nb-m3^c.t-R^c*; *h^cy-m-m3^c.t hnk sy n R^c m hr.t-hrw*; *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-imn*; *H^c-m-m3^c.t*; *Hpr-hpr.w-R^c ir-m3^c.t*
- (*m*)-*m3w.t* adv. “anew,” 190:16; 193:11; 196B:1 (twice); 197A:1; 197B:1, 2
- mi* prep. “like, as, according as,” 172:R IV (four times, once restored), M (twice); 173:R IV (twice), M; 177B:4 (partly restored); 187:13; 190:16; 191:9; 192:5; 195:Col. 2, Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1, 2; 196B:2; 197A:1, 2 (three times); 214E:2 (twice), 3; 217C:1; and in the following compounds:
- mi p.t*, 176A:5 (restored); 184:8 (partly restored); 191:9; 192:5; 214E:6; 217C:2
- mi R^c*, 132:12 (restored), 23 (restored), 25 (partly restored); 136:8 (partly restored), 13, 17; 139:3; 143A (partly restored); 144:3, 12; 145:7, 18 (partly restored); 147:18; 148B:1; 149:7, 12; 161:11; 163:5 (partly restored), 6, 12; 165A:13; 167:4, 9, 17, 18; 168:9, 12; 171A:7 (partly restored), 10; 171B:14; 171C:1, 2; 176A:12; 180:18 (partly restored), 19; 181:19; 182:19, 25, 27; 183:16, 19, 25 (partly restored), 27; 184:5, 9 (partly restored), 15, 20, 23 (partly restored); 185:27; 186:1, 5, 6, 18 (partly restored), 23; 187:27, 30 (partly restored); 188:20, 24, 27; 189:1 (partly restored), 8, 21; 190:2 (partly restored); 190:9, 27 (partly restored), 31 (restored); 191:20, 22, 26, 30; 192:23, 25, 26; 193:9 (partly restored), 19, 25; 214E:5, 8; 216C:3; 217I:3; 219C:4; 219E; 219I:3
- mi R^c r^c nb*, 136:7; 145:18–19 (partly restored); 147:8 (partly restored); 161:10; 163:4 (partly restored); 165B:2; 181:14; 183:2; 184:7; 185:7; 187:22; 188:15; 189:15
- mi R^c d.t*, 132:11 (partly restored), 19, 28 (restored); 144:6; 145:20 (partly restored); 153A:3; 153B:3; 156:1 (partly restored), 5; 158:4 (partly restored); 172:R IV (restored), M; 173:R IV; 174A:6 (restored); 176A:4; 177B:1, 5; 180:13; 183:11; 186:15 (partly restored); 187:19; 188:17; 190:19 (partly restored); 192:19; 193:16, 21; 196A:1, 2; 214E:1, 5; 217C:4; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 214B:2 (partly restored)
- mi R^c d.t nhh*, 139:7 (partly restored); 145:8; 171B:11; 181:3, 20; 182:11 (partly restored); 183:15; 187:12; 189:10 (partly restored); 190:11 (partly restored)
- mi R^c d.t hn^c nhh*, 187:10 (partly restored). See also *Wsr-rnp.wt mi it.f Hr-3hty*; *H^c mi R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*
- mw.t* n. “mother,” 144:8; 173:M; 214E:4; and in the compound: *mw.t ntr*, 186:10; 187:13; 188:11; 189:11. See also *K3-mw.t.f*
- Mw.t* div. “Mut,” 202:Gr. 3, 1; and with the following epithets: *wr.t nb.t isrw*, 192:10; 193:10
- wr.t nb.t isrw hnw.t ntr.w nb.w*, 200:8–10 (partly restored)
- wr.t nb.t isrw ... [nb.t] ... nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w*, 216G:2
- wr.t nb.t p.t*, 147:7 (partly restored); 214E:5
- wr.t nb.t p.t nb.t isrw hnw.t ntr.w*, 132:13–14 (mostly restored)
- nb.t isrw*, 196A:2; 216D:4
- nb.t p.t*, 172:M (restored); 194:1, 4, 10, 13; 214E: 4; 216H
- nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w*, 180:7; 181:9–10
- nb.t p.t hnw.t t3.wy*, 219I:4

- nb.t p.t B3.s.t hry.t-ib išrw*, 144:7
 ... *hry.t-ib ip.t*, 149:8 (partly restored)
- mn* vb. “to remain, endure, establish,” 147:3; 149:11; 167:7; 173:M (restored); 176A:5 (restored); 182:14; 184:8; 191:9; 192:5; 193:8; 196A:2; 197B:1, 2; 202:Gr. 3, 1 (restored); 214E:6; 217C:2
- Mn-m3^c.t-R^c* RN “Menmaatre” (prenomen of Sety I), 190:13, 25; 191:13, 24; 192:11 (partly restored), 21; 193:11, 23; 196A:1 (twice), 2; 196B:1 (twice), 2; 197A:1 (twice), 2; 197B:1 (twice, once partly restored), 2
- m(i)ni* vb. 4ae inf. “to moor, to govern (a land),” 197B:1
- mnw* n. “monument(s),” 165A:6; 167:7; 168:2 (partly restored); 171B:2; 172:M (three times, twice partly restored); 173:R IV, M (three times, twice partly restored); 174A:4 (partly restored); 176A:5; 177A:2 (restored), 4; 177B:2 (restored), 5; 180:20; 181:21 (partly restored); 182:14; 184:8; 188:9 (partly restored), 13; 189:13; 190:15; 191:9; 192:5; 193:8; 196A:1 (four times), 2; 196B:1, 2 (twice); 197A:1 (twice), 2; 197B:1 (twice), 2 (four times); 214E:7; 217C:3; and in the following compound:
sm3wy mnw, 180:20 (restored); 181:21; 197A:1
- mnh* adj. “excellent, beneficial, splendid,” 165A:6; 182:14 (partly restored); 196A:2; 197A:2. See also *hr-mnh*
- mnh.t* n. “excellence,” 172:M
- Mntw* div. “Montu,” 196B:2; and with the following epithet:
hry-ib W3.s.t, 172:R IV; 196B:2; 197A:2
- mrī* vb. 3ae inf. “to love, prefer,” 136:10 (restored), 20; 142:9 (restored); 143A (restored); 144:8; 147:16; 149:8; 153A:3 (twice); 153B:3; 168:5; 171A:9, 11; 171B:2, 4 (restored); 172:R IV (three times, once restored), M (four times, twice restored, twice partly restored); 173:R IV (twice), M (three times, twice restored); 176A:13; 177B:1 (twice, once restored), 3; 182:12, 26 (restored); 183:12, 26; 184:10; 185:11, 23; 186:10 (partly restored); 187:28; 188:12, 25; 189:12; 190:12, 13, 30 (partly restored); 191:13, 29; 192:11, 24; 193:11, 24; 194:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 195:Col. 2 (four times, once restored), Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196B:1 (twice), 2 (twice); 197A:1, 2; 197B:1, 2; 198:frag. 85, 1 (restored); 200:16 (twice), 18, 20; 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2; 214E: 1, 4 (restored), 5; 216C:4; 216D:4; 216E; 216H (twice); 217E:4; 217F; 217G:2, 7; 217H (twice); 217I:4; 219E:4; 219F; 219H; 219I:4 216:12. See also *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mr-īmn*; *Wsr-hpr.w-R^c Mr-īmn*; *Wsrkn Mr-īmn*; *B3-n-R^c Mr-īmn*; *R^c-ms-sw Mr-īmn*; *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-īmn*; *Sty Mr-n-Pth*; *Stp-n-R^c Mr-īmn*
- mr.wt* n. “love,” 191:13; 197A:1 (partly restored); 197B:1 (*n-mr.wt* written *n-mr.wy*); 202:Gr. 2, 4 (partly restored, uncertain)
- mry.ty* n. “beloved,” 172:R IV (twice, once restored), M (partly restored)
- Mr-n-Pth Htp-hr-m3^c.t* RN “Merneptah-Hetephermaat” (nomen of Merneptah), 143A; 143B; 172:M (nine times, four times restored, five times, partly restored); 173:M (six times, twice restored, three times partly restored); 195:Col. 2 (twice)
- mh* vb. “to fill,” 197A:1 (partly restored)
- mh.ty* n. “north,” 136:11 (restored); 183:9; 186:8 (partly restored); 189:16; 190:9; *mhty.w* “northerners,” 177A:3
- Mhw* loc. “Lower Egypt,” 161:14; 163:8; 176A:13; 181:11; 184:6; 185:6; 187:9; 188:6; 191:29
- mh3.t* n. “balance,” in the compound *mh3.t-ib* “Balance of the heart, pleasure,” 196B:1
- msi* vb. 3ae inf. “to bear (a child), to fashion (an image),” 136:2; 172:R IV, M (restored); 173:R IV; 196A:1, 2; 197A:2 (three times); 197B:2; 200:2. See also *R^c-ms-sw*; *R^c-ms-sw Mr-īmn*; *R^c-ms-sw Hq3-īwnw*; *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-īmn*
- msw.t* n. “birth”; see *Twt-mswt*
- Msn* loc. “Mesen,” 144:13
- mkī* vb. 3ae inf. “to protect”; see *mk-Km.t w^cf-pd.t-psd.t*
- mk-Km.t w^cf-pd.t-psd.t* RN “who protects Egypt, who subdues the nine bows” (Two Ladies name of Ramesses IV), 172:R IV; 173:R IV
- mtr* adj. “precise,” 196B:1; 197A:1
- mdw* n. “word(s)”; see *qd mdw*
- md.t* n. “ointment,” 165A:1; 180:1 (partly restored); 184:1; 185:1 (partly restored); 193:1
- n* masc. sing. indirect genitive part., 136:1, 9, 19; 139:2, 4; 142:9; 145:10 (restored); 147:4; 149:11; 158:2; 161:4; 171B:2, 3, 7 (restored), 15; 172:R IV, M (restored); 173:R IV; 174A:3 (restored); 176A:9; 177A:1, 3, 5; 177B:1, 3; 180:9, 20; 181:21; 186:10 (restored); 187:7; 188:7, 8; 188:12; 189:12; 190:13, 17, 26; 191:13, 15, 25; 192:10, 8, 22; 193:5, 13, 15 (restored); 195:Col. 2; 196A:2 (three times); 196B:1 (three times), 2; 197A:1 (three times), 2 (twice, once written *n.w*); 197B:1 (twice, once restored), 2 (three times); 200:14, 17, 202:Gr. 2, 1, 2, 3, 5; 202:Gr. 3, 1; 212:Gr. 77, 1 (omitted), 2 (omitted); 214E:2; 216G:1 (restored); 219H
- n.t* fem. sing. indirect genitive part., 136:19; 158:2; 183:14; 187:8, 10 (partly restored); 188:16 (written *n*); 190:16 (written *n*); 191:15; 192:8; 193:14; 196A:1 (restored), 2 (twice, once written *n*); 196B:1 (twice, once written *n*); 197A:1 (four times, three times written *n*), 2; 197B:1 (written *n*); 200:16 (written *n*), 18 (restored), 19 (restored), 20 (written *n*), 21 (written *n*); 202:Gr. 2, 3 (written *n*)
- n.w* plural indirect genitive part., 167:9
- n* prep. “to, for, through, at” 132:1 (restored), 14; 136:6 (restored), 12 (restored); 139:1 (restored); 143A (restored); 143B (restored); 145:1 (twice); 147:1; 148B:1; 149:1 (restored); 154A:1, 2 (restored); 154C:1; 158:1; 161:1; 163:1 (restored); 165A:1, 6; 167:2; 171B:2; 172:R IV (twice), M (three times, once restored); 173:R IV (four times), M (twice, once restored); 176A:1; 177A:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (restored), 4 (restored), 5; 177B:2 (twice); 180:1, 20 (restored); 181:1 (restored), 21; 182:2; 183:2, 12; 186:1 (restored); 187:2; 188:1, 9 (restored), 13; 189:1 (restored), 13, 26; 190:2 (restored), 15; 191:2 (restored), 13, 14 (restored); 192:1, 11; 193:1, 12, 15; 196A:1 (three times); 196B:1 (six times), 2 (three times); 197A:1 (three times), 2 (three times); 197B:1 (five times, once in *n-mr.wt*), 2 (three times); 200:1; 202:Gr. 2, 3; 202:Gr. 3, 1
- n.k* 132:11 (restored), 18 (restored); 136:10 (restored), 11 (twice, once restored), 12; 139:2, 4 (restored), 5; 142:3, 8 (restored), 10 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 144:3, 4, 5 (twice), 8, 9,

12; 145:4, 5, 7, 10, 14; 147:3, 4, 5, 6, 12; 148B:2 (restored); 149:6, 7, 12; 150A:1; 151A:3, 4, 8 (restored); 151B:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (restored); 156:1; 158:2; 161:4, 5, 6, 8; 163:3, 4, 5 (restored); 165A:4, 5, 6; 167:7 (restored), 8 (restored), 9 (restored), 10; 168:1; 169:1; 171A:3; 171B:8, 9; 176A:3, 5, 6; 180:5 (partly restored), 6 (restored), 9; 181:7, 8 (partly restored), 11; 182:6, 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16; 183:6, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16; 184:5, 6, 7, 8 (partly restored), 11, 12, 13 (restored); 185:6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; 186:5 (restored), 6 (restored), 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 (restored); 187:6, 7, 11 (restored), 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 (partly restored), 18; 188:6, 7, 8, 14, 16; 189:6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16; 190:8, 9, 10, 16, 18; 191:8, 9, 10, 15, 17; 192: 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13; 193:5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15; 198:frag. 2107; 200:3, 4; 214E:2 (restored), 3 (restored). See also *n-^c3.t-n*; *h^cy-m-m3^c.t hnk sy n R^c m hr.t-hrw*

n negative, 197A:1

n-^c3.t-n compound preposition “because, inasmuch as,” 177B:3

N.t div. “Neith,” with the following epithet:

wr.t mw.t ntr nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w, 188:11; 189:11

nⁱw.t n. “city,” 172:R IV (restored); 173:M (partly restored)

n^c3 adj. “mighty,” 203:1

nw dem. pron. “this, these,” 177B:3

Nw.t div. “Nut,” 197A:2

nb adj. “all, every, any,” 132:12, 19 (three times, twice restored), 28 (twice, both restored); 136:7, 8 (restored), 13 (restored), 21; 139:3, 6 (three times), 7 (three times, once restored); 144:3 (three times), 4 (three times), 6 (twice), 14 (twice, once restored); 145:6, 7, 8 (twice), 14, 19, 20 (twice); 147:5, 6 (restored), 8, 12 (twice, once restored), 17; 148B:2; 149:10, 13; 150A:1 (twice, once restored); 150B:2 (restored); 153B:3 (seven times, once restored); 156:6; 158:5; 161:7, 10; 163:1, 3, 4, 5 (restored), 6 (four times, twice restored); 165A:4, 5, 7; 165B: 2; 167:5, 10 (four times), 18 (three times); 168:1 (three times), 6, 8; 171A:3, 12; 171B:8; 171C:2 (twice); 172:R IV, M; 173:R IV; 176A:6 (twice, once restored); 177A:2, 5 (three times); 177B:3, 4; 180:8, 12, 19 (three times); 181:7 (twice), 8 (twice), 10, 11, 14, 20 (twice); 182:6 (three times, once restored), 10 (restored), 11 (four times, once restored), 16 (twice), 20, 26, 27 (three times); 183:2, 6 (three times), 10, 11 (four times), 16 (twice), 20 (twice), 26, 27 (three times); 184:5, 7 (three times), 8 (twice), 9 (restored), 11, 12, 15 (twice), 23 (three times); 185:7, 8 (twice), 10 (twice), 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 27; 186:1 (restored), 5 (three times), 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18 (four times), 26 (twice, once restored); 187:2, 6 (three times), 12 (four times), 13, 14 (five times), 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 (three times), 29, 30; 188:10 (three times), 14 (twice), 15, 17, 26; 189:6 (three times), 8 (twice), 9 (twice, restored), 10 (restored), 14 (twice), 15, 16, 18, 26 (twice, both restored); 190:11 (four times), 19, 21 (twice); 191:10 (four times, once restored), 17, 20, 22 (three times), 30 (three times); 192:8, 15, 25, 26 (three times, once restored); 193:7 (four times), 8, 9 (three times), 15 (twice), 16, 21, 29 (three times); 196A:1, 2 (twice); 196B:1 (twice), 2 (three times); 197A:1 (three times), 2 (twice); 197B:1, 2 (twice); 198:frag. 85, 1 (restored); 200:3 (twice), 4 (twice), 10; 216G:2; 217H

nb n. “lord, master,” 150A:4; 150B:1; 172:R IV (three times, twice restored); 173:R IV; 176A:1; 192:1; 193:12; 196A:2; 197B:2; and in the following compounds:

nb ir-ht, 136:10 (restored, uncertain); 176A: 8; 190:22, 25; 191:24; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, once restored), Col. 9 (twice, once restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice), Col. 12 (three times, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 216E; 217F

nb w^c, 145:5; 147:3; 184:22

nb p.t, 145:2; 147:2, 13; 151A:7; 153B:3; 154A:3; 161:3; 167:6; 168:4; 176A:2; 181:4; 185:2; 186:3; 187:3; 188:5; 190:6; 191:7; 192:3; 193:3; 195:Col. 2; 196B:1; 216C:4; 216E; 216G:1; 217I:4; 219E:4

nb Msn, 144:13

nb n šnn.t itn, 171B:15–16

nb nh^h, 188:3

nb ns.wt t3.wy, 144:1; 165A:2; 169:1; 171A:2 (written *nb ns.t t3.wy*); 176A:2 (partly restored); 181:4 (partly restored); 184:2; 188:2; 189:2; 192:2; 193:2; 194:1, 9, 13; 195:Col. 2; 196B:2; 197B:2; 200:1; 216G:1

n- r-dr, 198:frags. 2143 and 2226, 1 (partly restored)

nb hb.w-sd, 172:R IV; 173:R IV; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 217C:1

nb h^c.w, 132:22 (restored); 136:10 (partly restored), 16; 143A; 143B; 144:17; 145:17 (restored); 150A:3; 159:frag. 2229, 2 (partly restored); 163:10; 165A:11; 168:11 (partly restored); 172:R IV (three times, once partly restored); 173:R IV (four times, twice partly restored), M; 174A:2 (restored); 177B:1; 182:24; 183:13, 24; 184:19; 186:22; 187:26; 190:26; 191:25; 192:22; 193:24; 195:Col. 2 (three times), Col. 3 (twice, once restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, once restored); 196A:2; 196B:1, 2 (twice); 197A:1, 2 (three times); 197B:1 (partly restored), 2 (three times); 214E: 7; 216C:2; 216D:2; 216H; 217C:1; 217G:4, 9; 217H; 219H

nb hpš, 168:5; 172:R IV (restored); 173:R IV; 190:22; 192:21; 193:23; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, once restored), Col. 9 (twice), Col. 10 (twice), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored)

nb t3.wy, 132:14 (restored), 21 (restored); 136:10 (restored, uncertain), 15; 143A (partly restored); 143B; 144:8, 16; 145:16 (restored); 147:14; 150A:3 (partly restored); 159:frag. 108, rev. 2, frag. 2229, 1 (partly restored); 163:9; 165A:10; 168:10 (partly restored); 171A:8; 171B:2;

172:R IV (four times, three times partly restored); 173:R IV (four times), M (twice, both partly restored); 177B:5; 180:14; 181:15; 182:21, 23 (partly restored); 183:21, 23; 184:16, 18; 185:20, 22; 186:10, 19, 21; 187:13, 23, 25; 188:12, 19; 189:12, 20; 190:13, 22 (partly restored), 25; 191:13, 21, 24; 192:11, 18, 21 (partly restored); 193:11, 20, 23; 194:2; 195:Col. 2 (twice), Col. 3 (twice, once restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice), Col. 6 (twice), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, once restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1 (three times, once restored), 2; 196B:1 (twice, once partly restored), 2; 197A:1 (three times, once partly restored), 2; 197B:1 (three times, once restored), 2 (partly restored); 202:Gr. 2, 2; 214E:6; 216C:1; 216D:1; 217C:2, 3; 217F; 217G:3, 8; 219F

nb.wy n. “the two lords,” 142:3; 145:4 (partly restored); 161:6; 182:8 (partly restored); 183:7; 186:7 (partly restored); 188:8; 190:18; 196A:1; 197A:2

nb.t n. “lady, possessor,” 216G:2 (partly restored); and in the following compounds:

nb.t išrw, 132:13 (restored); 192:10; 193:10; 200:8–9 (partly restored); 216D:4; 216G:2

nb.t p.t, 132:13 (partly restored); 144:7; 147:7 (partly restored); 156:2; 158:3; 168:7; 172:M (restored); 180:7; 181:9, 12; 184:10; 185:11; 186:10 (partly restored); 187:13; 188: 11; 189:11; 190:12; 191:12; 194:1, 4, 10, 13; 214E: 4, 5; 216G:2; 216H; 219I:4

nb.t Mhw, 191:29

nb.t Šm^cw, 190:30

nb.t tš.wy, 200:17 (written *nb tš.wy*), 19 (written *nb tš.wy*)

nb.ty n. “the two ladies,” 188:8

Nb.ty title of king “the Two Ladies,” 172:R IV, M; 173:R IV, M (restored)

Nb-mš^c.t-R^c RN “Nebmaatire” (prenomen of Amenhotep III), 144:16 (partly restored); 147:14 (partly restored); 149:14 (partly restored); 163:9; 174A:2 (restored); 176A:8; 177A:2 (with epithet *tš.t-R^c* within cartouche), 4; 177B:1, 2 (partly restored), 5; 180:20; 181:21; 182:12, 23; 183:12, 23; 188:22; 189:12, 23; 196A:1 (restored); 196B:1 (with epithet *tš.t-R^c* within cartouche); 197A:1 (restored); 197B:1 (restored); 198:frag. 88, 2 (partly restored)

Nb-hpr.w-R^c RN “Nebkheperure” (prenomen of Tutankhamun), 144:8; 161:15; 165A:10; 167:15, 19; 168:5, 10; 171A:8; 171B:2, 12; 181:22 (not usurped); 184:18; 185:11, 22; 186:10, 21; 187:13, 25, 31 (not usurped); 188:12

nbw n. “gold”; see *Hr-nbw*

nfr (1) adj. “beautiful, perfect,” 145:1; 163:1; 168:3; 172:R IV; 173:M (partly restored); 188:13; 189:5, 13; 197B:1, 2; 202:Gr. 3, 1, 2; and in the following compounds:

bw nfr adj., 173:R IV

ntr nfr, 172:M; 182:23; 183:23; 190:25; 191:24; 196A:1, 2; 196B:2; 197A:2

nfr-hr, 173:M (restored); 196A:1

rn-nfr, 205:Gr. 17

See also *H^c mš R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*

(2) n. “what is good,” 197A:2. See also *Nfr-htp*

nfrw n. “beauty, perfection,” 136:2; 173:M; 191:3, 14; 192:11; 196A:1, 2; 196B:2; 214E:4

nfr n. “white crown,” 177B:1

Nfr-htp div. “(Khonsu)-Neferhotep,” 136:9; 142:9; 194:11; 200:12

nn dem. pron. “this, these,” 197B:1

nrrw n. “fear, fearsomeness,” 177A:2

nhh (1) n. “eternity,” 139:5; 144:5; 161:8; 169:1; 171A:3; 171B:9, 11 (partly restored); 172:R IV; 186:6 (probably written *r nhh*); 189:7; 190:8; 192:6; 196A:2; 197A:2; 214E:2 (partly restored); (2) adv. “forever, eternally,” 132:26; 139:1 (partly restored), 7 (restored); 145:8; 167:7; 171D:1; 181:3, 20; 182:11; 183:15; 184:9; 185:7 (written *r nhh*); 186:9; 187:10, 12 (partly restored); 188:3; 189:7, 10 (restored), 26; 190:11; 197B:1, 2

nhšhš n. “flail,” 196A:2

Nhb.t div. “Nekhbet,” 145:15 (partly restored); 161:11; 165A:8; 167:14; 171B:10 (restored); 184:14; and with the following epithets:

nb.t p.t, 168:7

nb.t Šm^cw, 190:30

hd.t Nhn, 132:20 (restored); 188:18; 189:17 (partly restored); 192:17; 193:17

hd.t Nhn nb.t p.t, 156:2 (partly restored)

hd.t Nhn hnw.t ntr.w, 180:10

Nhn loc. “Hierakonpolis,” 132:20 (restored); 156:2; 180:10; 188:19; 189:18 (partly restored); 192:17; 193:17

nh.t (1) as adj. vb. and adj. “mighty, victorious, powerful,” 173:R IV; 177A:2; 196A:1 (twice, once partly restored); 196B:1; 197A:1; 197B:1 (partly restored); and in the following compound:

kš nh.t, 143A; 143B; 143D:1 (partly restored), 2 (partly restored); 144:15; 153A:3; 158:6 (partly restored); 172:R IV, M (restored); 173:R IV, M (restored); 180:15; 181:16; 182:22; 183:22; 184:17; 185:21; 186:20; 187:24; 188:21; 189:22; 190:24; 191:23; 192:20; 193:22 (partly restored); 219C:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (restored), 4 (partly restored)

(2) n. “victory,” 136:11 (restored); 148B:2 (partly restored); 177A:5 (partly restored); 182:15; 184:8; 187:15; 189:16; 190:9; 191:5; and in the following compounds:

‘nh wšs nb snb nb šw.t-ib nb qn.t nb nh.t nb, 187:14

‘nh nb dd wšs nb snb nb šw.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nh.t] nb, 153B:3 (partly restored)

‘nh dd wšs nb snb nb šw.t-ib nb qn.t nh.t nb, 167:10

qn.t nh.t, 145:14; 147:6; 149:3–4 (partly restored); 171B:8 (partly restored); 182:10 (partly restored); 183:10 (partly restored); 184:5

qnt nb nh.t nb, 144:4; 181:8; 189:8, 9 (partly restored); 191:10 (partly restored); 193:7; 200:3. See also *Wsr-rnp.wt wr-nht.w*

ns.t n. “seat, throne,” 173:R IV, M; 176A:4; 183:12; 186:25; 190:10 (partly restored); 196B:2; 197B:1; and in the following compounds:

šw.t.š ns.t[.š] ..., 142:11

- ỉw.t.ỉ ns.t.ỉ s.t.ỉ* (.ỉ), 156:1 (partly restored)
- ỉw.t.ỉ s.t.ỉ nst.ỉ* ‘*h*’ *ỉ wnn tp tỉ*, 190:10; 191:8; 192:7
- nb ns.wt tỉ.wy*, 144:1; 165A:2; 169:1; 171A:2 (written *nb ns.t tỉ.wy*); 176A:2 (partly restored); 181:4; 184:2; 188:2; 189:2; 192:2; 193:2; 194:1, 9, 13; 195:Col. 2; 196B:2; 197B:2; 200:1; 216G:1
- ns.t ỉtmw*, 171B:6
- ns.t Gb*, 149:11 (partly restored); 188:8
- s.t.ỉ ns.t.ỉ*, 161:5
- nsy.t* n. “kingship,” 172:M (partly restored); 173:R IV; 182:7; 188:16; and in the compounds:
- ‘*ỉ* *nsy.t*, 143D:1 (partly restored, in Horus name of Ramesses III)
- nsy.t ỉtmw*, 193:5
- nsy.t R*‘, 172:R IV
- nsy.t tỉ.wy*, 145:10 (partly restored); 149:7; 163:4; 183:7; 185:6; 186:7 (partly restored); 187:13; 188:6; 189:9; 190:18
- nswt* n. “king,” 142:10; 147:17 (partly restored); 161:9; 169:1; 171A:1 (restored), 3 (partly restored), 12; 171B:9; 172:R IV (twice, once restored), M (partly restored); 173:R IV (twice) 174A:1 (partly restored); 182:26; 183:26; 187:29; 188:26; 190:8, 29; 191:16; 192:25; 196A:1 (twice); 196B:1; 197A:1; 197B:1 (twice); 198:frag. 85, 1 (restored); 200:16, 18 (restored), 20; 202:Gr. 2, 2; 214E:2; and in the following compounds:
- nswt bity*, 132:21 (restored); 136:15; 143A; 143B; 144:16; 145:16 (partly restored); 147:14; 150A:3; 153A:1, 3; 153B:1 (restored); 154A:4 (restored); 154C:3 (restored), 5; 156:3 (restored), 7; 159:frag. 2229, 1; 161:15; 167:15; 168:10; 171A:8; 171B:12 (restored); 172:R IV (four times), M (nine times, twice partly restored); 173:R IV (five times), M (seven times, twice partly restored); 174A:2 (restored); 176A:8 (partly restored); 177A:2; 177B:1; 180:16, 20 (twice, once restored); 181:17, 21 (twice, once restored); 184:18; 185:22; 186:21 (partly restored); 187:25; 188:22; 189:23; 192:21; 193:23; 194:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 195:Col. 2 (three times, once restored), Col. 3 (twice, once restored), Col. 4 (twice, both partly restored), Col. 5 (twice), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1 (three times, once partly restored), 2; 196B:1 (three times), 2; 197A:1 (three times), 2; 197B:1 (three times, once restored), 2; 198:frag. 85, 2 (restored), frag. 88, 2, frag. 1268 (restored); 214E: 1, 5; 216C:1; 216D:1; 216E; 217C:1; 217E:1; 217F; 217I:1; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:1; 219F; 219G:1; 219I:1
- nswt bity Šm*‘*w Mhw*, 185:6; 187:9; 188:6
- nswt ntr.w*, 145:2–3 (restored); 147:2; 151A:1 (partly restored); 153B:3 (*nswt ntr.w nb.w*); 167:5 (restored); 171B:2; 180:2 (partly restored); 194:12, 14; 195:Col. 2, Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored, once partly restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1, 2; 196B:2; 197A:1; 200:15, 19; 202:Gr. 2, 1; 214E:1; 217I:4; 219E:4
- nswt Šm*‘*w Mhw*, 181:11; 184:6
- nswt tỉ.wy*, 136:6–7 (partly restored); 139:5 (partly restored); 144:5; 185:7; 186:6; 189:7, 9 (partly restored); 192:6; 196B:2
- kỉ nswt* ‘*n*’ *nb tỉ.wy*, 180:14; 181:15
- kỉ nswt* ‘*n*’ *nb tỉ.wy nb ỉr-h.t nb hpš hnty dbỉ.t hnty pr-dwỉ.t*, 190:22–23
- kỉ nswt* ‘*n*’ *nb tỉ.wy hnty pr-dwỉ.t*, 182:21; 183:21; 184:16; 185:20; 186:19; 187:23; 188:19–20; 189:20–21; 192:18; 193:20
- kỉ nswt* ‘*n*’ *nb tỉ.wy hnty pr-dwỉ.t hnty kỉ.w* ‘*n*’ *h.w*, 191:21. See also *htp-dỉ-nswt*
- ntk* second person masc. sing. independent pron., 149:8
- ntr* n. “god,” 136:21; 171B:1 (restored); 172:R IV (twice), M (three times, once restored); 173:R IV (twice, once partly restored), M (twice, both partly restored); 180:2; 196B:1, 2; 217H; and in the following compounds:
- ỉt ntr*, 136:16 (in the nomen of Ay); 145:17 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored); 198:frag. 85, 3 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored); 212:Gr. 60, 1; 212:Gr. 72; 212:Gr. 73; 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2
- mw.t ntr*, 186:10; 187:13; 188:11; 189:11
- nswt ntr.w*, 145:2–3 (partly restored); 147:2; 151A:1 (partly restored); 153B:3 (*nswt ntr.w nb.w*); 167:5 (restored); 171B:2; 180:2; 194:12, 14; 195:Col. 2, Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored, once partly restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1, 2; 196B:2; 197A:1; 200:15, 19; 202:Gr. 2, 1; 214E:1; 217I:4; 219E:4
- ntr* ‘*ỉ*’, 136:14; 142:13; 144:13; 147:13; 154A:3; 154C:2; 186:17; 191:6; 200:2 (partly restored), 12
- ntr n*‘*ỉ*’, 203:1 (partly restored)
- ntr nfr*, 172:M; 182:23; 183:23; 190:25; 191:24; 196A:1, 2; 196B:2; 197A:2
- ntr hqỉ* *Wỉs.t*, 145:17 (in the nomen of Ay); 198:frag. 85, 3 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored)
- h.t-ntr*, 171A:2 (restored); 172:R IV (restored); 193:8; 196B:2; 197B:1, 2
- hm-ntr*, 201:14; 202:Gr. 2, 1, 3, 5; 212:Gr. 60, 2; 212:Gr. 63, 2; 212:Gr. 76; 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2
- hm.t-ntr*, 200:16
- hnw.t ntr.w* (*nb.w*), 132:13–14 (partly restored); 180:10; 184:10 (written *hnw.t ntr*); 185:11; 188:11; 189:11; 191:12; 216G:2
- hnw.t ntr.w nb.w*, 180:7–8; 181:9–10; 200:10 (partly restored)

- hry-tp* (n) *ntr.w*, 193:2; 216G:1 (partly restored)
hqz ntr.w, 216G:1
 See also *it-ntr-iy-ntr-hqz-Wz.s.t*; *htp-nt*
- ntry* nisbe “divine,” 172:M
ndty n. “champion,” 136:19; 172:M; 177A:1; 196A:2; 196B:2; 197A:2
- r* prep. “to, for, against, in order to,” 136:3, 10, 11 (restored); 144:4, 5; 147:16; 149:6; 171A:12; 171B:8, 15 (restored); 172:M; 173:M (twice, both restored); 176A:7; 177A:5 (haplographic); 177B:5; 182:10 (restored), 26 (restored); 183:10, 26; 184:5, 8, 21; 185:16 (restored); 186:9; 187:29; 188:26; 189:16 (twice), 26 (restored); 190:9 (twice, once restored); 192:25; 196A:1 (omitted), 2; 196B:1 (twice), 2; 197A:1, 2 (erased); 197B:1; 198: frag. 85, 1, frag.s. 2143 and 2226, 1; 202:Gr. 3, 1. See also *H^c mī R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*; (*r*-)*hft-hr*
- r^c.wy* n. “two arms, actions,” 161:7
- R^c* div. “Re,” 132:11, 12 (restored), 19, 23 (restored), 25, 28 (restored); 136:7, 8 (restored), 13, 17, 18, 19; 139:2 (restored), 3, 4 (restored), 5, 7; 143A (twice); 143B; 144:3, 6, 12; 145:7, 8, 10 (restored), 18 (restored), 20 (partly restored); 147:4, 8 (restored), 18; 148B:1; 149:7, 11, 12; 153A:3; 153B:3; 156:1 (restored), 5; 158:2, 4 (restored); 161:4, 10, 11; 163:4 (restored), 5 (restored), 6, 12; 165A:13; 165B:2; 167:4, 9, 17, 18; 168:9, 12; 171A:7 (partly restored), 10; 171B:7, 9 (partly restored), 11, 14; 171C:1, 2; 172:R IV (twice, once restored), M (twice); 173:R IV, M (three times); 174A:6 (restored); 176A:4, 12; 177A:2; 177B:1, 5; 180:9, 13, 18 (partly restored), 19; 181:3, 14, 19, 20; 182:11 (restored), 19, 25, 27; 183: 2, 11, 15, 16, 19, 25, 27; 184:5, 7, 9, 15, 20, 21, 23 (restored); 185:7, 9, 25, 27; 186:1, 5, 6, 15 (restored), 18, 23; 187:7, 10, 12, 13, 19, 22, 27, 30; 188:7, 15, 16, 17, 20, 24, 25, 27; 189:1, 8, 10 (restored), 15, 21; 190:2, 9, 11, 17, 19 (restored), 27 (partly restored), 28, 31 (restored); 191:15, 20, 22, 26, 27, 30; 192:8, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26; 193:5, 9 (restored), 13 (omitted), 16, 19, 21, 25, 26; 196A:1 (twice), 2 (twice); 196B:1; 200:9; 214E:1, 4, 5 (twice), 8; 216C:3; 217C:4; 217G:2, 5, 7, 10; 217I:3; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:3; 219I:3. See also *imn-R^c*; *imn-R^c Hr-3h.ty*; *imn(-R^c) K3-mw.t.f*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Mr-imn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-imn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c*; *Wsr-hpr.w-R^c Mr-imn*; *B3-n-R^c Mr-imn*; *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c*; *Nb-m3^c.t-R^c*; *Nb-hprw-R^c*; *R^c-ms-sw*; *R^c-ms-sw Mr-imn*; *R^c-ms-sw Hq3-iwnw*; *h^cy-m-m3^c.t hnk sy n R^c m hr.t-hrw*; *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-imn*; *H^c mī R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*; *Hpr-hpr.w-R^c ir-m3^c.t*; *s3 R^c*; *Stp-n-R^c Mr-imn*; *Dsr-hprw-R^c*
- (2) n. “(a) sun,” 172:R IV; 173:R IV (twice)
- R^c-ms-sw* RN “Ramesses” (as nomen of Ramesses IV), 224B
- R^c-ms-sw Mr-imn* RN “Ramesses-Meramun” (nomen of Ramesses II), 214E: 1 (partly restored), 5, 7; 216C:2; 216D:2; 216H; 217C:1 (twice); 217E:2; 217G:4, 9; 217H; 217I:2; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:2; 219G:2; 219H; 219I:2; 214B:2 (partly restored)
- R^c-ms-sw Hq3-iwnw* RN “Ramesses-Heqaon” (nomen of Ramesses III), 195:Col. 2
- R^c-Hr-3h.ty* div. “Re-Horakhty,” 214E:5 (partly restored)
- r^c* n. “day,” 136:7; 145:19; 147:8 (restored); 161:10; 163:4; 165B:2; 172:M (restored); 181:14; 183:2; 184:7; 185:7; 187:22; 188:15; 189:15; 193:7; 196B:1
- rwq* vb. “to be firm,” 214E:2
- rn* n. “name,” 197B:1, 2; 202:Gr. 3, 1 (partly restored); 205:Gr. 17; 214E:6; 217C:2 (restored)
- rnpī* vb. 4ae inf. “to be young, rejuvenated,” 214E:2
- rnp.t* n. “year,” 161:4; 165A:6; 167:9; 172:M; 173:M; 181:11; 188:7; 193:6; and in the following compound:
rnp.wt (n.t) itmw, 139:2 (partly restored); 158:2; 180:9; 187:8; 191:15; 192:8; 193:14. See also *Wsr-rnp.wt wr-nht.w*; *Wsr-rnp.wt mī it.f Hr-3hty*
- rnp.wt* n. “plants, flowers,” 163:1; 186:1 (restored); 187:1
- rnn* vb. “to nurse, bring up,” 196A:2
- rhy.t* n. “mankind,” 196B:1
- rs* vb. “to awaken, be awake,” (1) in the compound *rs-tp* “be watchful,” 173:M (restored); 177A:1; 196B:2; 197B:2; (2) in the compound *rs-hr* “be wakeful,” 197A:2
- rsy(.t)* (1) adj. “southern,” 196A:1; 196B:1, 2; 197A:1; (2) n. “south,” 136:10; 183:9; 186:8 (partly restored); 189:16 (restored); 190:9; *rs(y).w* “southerners,” 177A:3 (restored)
- ršw* vb. 3ae inf. “to rejoice,” 172:M
- ršw.t* n. “joy,” 172:R IV; 173:R IV; 197B:2
- rd.wy* n. “legs,” 177A:5. See also *tp-rd*
- rdī* vb. “to give, grant, cause,” 136:3; 139:1 (restored); 144:8, 14, 18; 145:18; 147:1, 18; 149:1; 151A:5; 154A:2; 154C:1; 161:11, 14; 163:1; 165A:1, 9; 167:12, 14; 168:8; 169:1; 171A:5, 6; 171B:10 (partly restored); 171C:1 (restored); 172:M (partly restored); 173:R IV (twice), M (twice, once restored); 176A:1, 13; 177B:4 (partly restored); 180:11, 12; 181:1, 12, 13; 182:18, 20; 183:18, 20; 184:1, 13 (restored), 15, 21; 185:1, 19; 186:18; 187:1, 21; 188:1, 21, 25; 189:1, 18, 21, 25; 190:2, 21, 23, 27; 191:2, 20, 22, 26; 192:1, 19, 23; 193:1, 13, 18, 21, 25; 196A:1; 197B:1 (twice), 2; 202:Gr. 2, 3; 214E:5 (restored); and in the group:
dī ‘nh, 132:1 (restored), 23 (restored); 136:17; 139:1 (restored); 143A (partly restored); 143B; 144:18 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*); 145:18; 147:1, 18 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*); 148B:1 (partly restored); 149:1; 153A:3; 153B:3 (*‘nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb*); 154A:2 (restored); 154C:1; 156:5 (restored); 158:4 (restored); 161:1; 163:1 (partly restored), 11; 165A:1, 12; 165B:1; 167:3, 17 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*); 168:12; 171A:10; 171B:1, 14; 172:R IV (twice), M; 173:R IV (four times, once restored); 174A:6; 176B:1; 177A:4; 177B:1 (partly restored), 5 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*); 180:1, 18 (restored); 181:3, 19; 182:25; 183:2, 25 (restored); 184:20; 185:24; 186:1 (restored), 23; 187:27; 188:1, 20 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*), 24; 189:1 (restored), 21 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*), 25; 190:2, 23, 27; 191:2, 22 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*), 26; 192:1, 23 (*dī ‘nh dd w3s*); 193:1, 25; 194:6, 7; 195:Col. 2, Col. 3 (restored), Col. 4, Col. 5 (restored), Col. 6 (restored), Col. 7 (restored), Col. 8 (restored), Col. 9 (restored), Col. 10 (restored), Col. 11 (restored), Col. 12 (restored), Col. 13 (restored); 196A:1, 2 (twice); 214E:1, 4, 5, 8; 216C:3; 217C:4; 217E:3; 217G:5, 10; 217I:3; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:3; 219I:3
- See also *htp-dī-nswt*
- dī.n(.i) n.k* ... “(I) have given to you ...,” 132:18 (restored); 151A:4, 8 (partly restored); 151B:1 (partly restored), 2 (partly restored), 3 (restored); 174B:1 (restored); 180:5, 6 (partly

restored); 186:15 (restored); 187:11; and with the following objects:

ṣw.t-ib nb “all joy,” 145:7; 184:12; 185:13; 186:12

ibw.t.i m nb w “my office as sole lord,” 145:5 (partly restored); 147:3 (partly restored)

ibw.t.i ns.t[i] ... “my office and [my] throne ...,” 142:11

ibw.t.i ns.t.i s.t(.i), 156:1 (partly restored)

*ibw.t.i s.t.i ns.t.i h*ˁ*.i wnn tp t*ṣ** “my office, my place, my throne, my lifetime, and (my) period of existence upon earth,” 192:7

*ibw.t.i s.t.i ns.t.i h*ˁ*.i wnn tp t*ṣ* d.t* “my office, my place, my throne, my lifetime, and (my) period of existence upon earth,” 190:10 (partly restored); 191:8

*nh w*ṣ*s* “life and dominion,” 185:12

*nh w*ṣ*s nb* “all life and dominion,” 184:11

*nh w*ṣ*s nb snb nb* “all life, dominion, and all health,” 150A:1 (partly restored); 183:16

*nh w*ṣ*s nb snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb m*l* R*ˁ** “all life and dominion, all health, and all joy like Re,” 186:5 (partly restored)

*nh w*ṣ*s nb snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb qn.t nb n*ḥ*t nb d.t sp-2* “all life and dominion, all health, all joy, all valor, and all victory forever and ever,” 187:14

*nh w*ṣ*s nb snb nb hr.i* “all life and dominion, and all health, on my part,” 185:8

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb* “all life, stability, and dominion,” 186:11

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb hr.i* “all life, stability, and dominion on my part,” 147:5; 192:15

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb* ... “all life, stability, and dominion ...” 191:17

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb ... nb* “all life, stability, and dominion, all ...,” 182:16

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb wnn mnw.k mn m h.w.t-ntr.i dd.w m ip.t-s.wt* “all life, stability, and dominion, and that your monuments continually endure in my temple, being steadfast in Karnak,” 193:8

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb snb nb* “all life, stability, dominion, and all health,” 200:4

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb snb nb hr.i* “all life, stability, and dominion, and all health, on my part,” 181:7

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb m hsw mnw pn nfr* ... “all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy as reward for this beautiful monument ...,” 168:1–3 (partly restored)

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb m*l* R*ˁ** “all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy like Re,” 144:3

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb hr.i* “all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and all joy on my part,” 182:6; 183:6; 187:6; 189:6

*nh dd w*ṣ*s nb snb nb ṣw.t-ib nb qn.t nb n*ḥ*t nb*, 167:10

*nh dd nb m*l* R*ˁ** “all life and stability, like Re,” 163:5 (partly restored)

*h*ˁ*.i m nswt* ... “my lifetime as king,” 142:10 (partly restored)

*h*ˁ*.i tp t*ṣ* m nswt Šm*ˁ* M*ḥ*w* “my lifetime upon earth as king of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 184:6

*h*ˁ* n R*ˁ** “the lifetime of Re,” 139:4 (partly restored); 190:16–17

*h*ˁ* n R*ˁ* rnp.wt.f m hq*ṣ* t*ṣ*.wy* “the lifetime of Re and his years as ruler of the two lands,” 161:4; 188:7

*h*ˁ* n R*ˁ* rnp.wt (n.t) itm*w** “lifetime of Re and the years of Atum,” 139:2 (partly restored); 158:2; 180:9; 187:7–8; 191:15

*h*ˁ* n R*ˁ* rnp.wt n.t itm*w* h*ṣ*s.t nb hr t*ḥ*w.ty.k* “the lifetime of Re, the years of Atum, and every foreign land under your soles,” 192:8

*h*ˁ*.k nh*ḥ* m nswt t*ṣ*.wy hr.i* “your lifetime and eternity as king of the two lands on my part,” 189:7

*whm n*ḥ*t* “repeated victory,” 182:15

wsrw Šw “the power of Shu,” 149:2 (partly restored)

ph.ty nb.wy “the strength of the two lords ...,” 142:3

*ps*ṣ* nb.wy h*ˁ*.sn m nh w*ṣ*s* “the shares of the two lords, and their lifetime in life and dominion,” 145:4 (partly restored)

*mnw mn mn*ḥ** “enduring and excellent monuments,” 182:14 (partly restored)

*mnw.k mn m*l* p.t h*ˁ*.k m*l* itn im.s* “that your monuments endure like heaven and your lifetime like (that of) the sun disk within it,” 191:9; 192:5

*mnw.k mn m*l* p.t* “that your monuments endure like heaven ...,” 176A:5 (partly restored)

*mnw.k mn m*l* p.t n*ḥ*t nb r h*ṣ*s.t nb.t* “that your monuments endure like heaven, and all victory against every foreign land,” 184:8

*mnw.k mn nh*ḥ** “that your monuments endure eternally,” 167:7
*nh*ḥ* m nswt m*l* itm*w** “eternity as king like Atum,” 214E:2 (partly restored)

*nh*ḥ* m nswt t*ṣ*.wy* “eternity as king of the two lands,” 144:5

*nh*ḥ* m nswt t*ṣ*.wy m*l* R*ˁ** “eternity as king of the two lands like Re,” 186:6

*nh*ḥ* m nswt t*ṣ*.wy d.t m hq*ṣ* ṣw.t-ib* “eternity as king of the two lands, and everlastingness as ruler of joy,” 192:6

*nh*ḥ* m nswt d.t m nh dd w*ṣ*s* “eternity as king and everlastingness in life, stability, and dominion,” 190:8

*nh*ḥ* m nswt t*ṣ*.wy d.t hr s.t R*ˁ** “eternity as king of the two lands and everlastingness upon the throne of Re,” 139:5

*nh*ḥ* m nswt d.t hr s.t R*ˁ** “eternity as king, and everlastingness upon the seat of Re,” 171B:9 (partly restored)

*nh*ḥ* m nswt d.t hr s.t Hr* “eternity as king and everlastingness upon the throne of Horus,” 161:8–10

*nh*ḥ* m nswt ... h*ṣ*s.wt nb p*d*.t-ps*d*.t* ... “eternity as king ... all foreign lands, the nine bows,” 171A:3 (partly restored)

*n*ḥ*t nb* “all victory,” 187:15

*ns.t Gb ibw.t itm*w* wsr.w n Nb.wy Nb.ty* “the throne of Geb, the office of Atum, and the power of the two lords and the two ladies,” 188:8

nsy.t ... “the kingship of...,” 182:7

*nsy.t itm*w* h*ˁ* n R*ˁ* m p.t* “the kingship of Atum and the lifetime of Re in heaven,” 193:5

- nsy.t n it.k R^c ... 3w.t-ib* “the kingship of your father Re ... joy,” 188:16 (partly restored)
- nsy.t t3.wy* “the kingship of the two lands,” 183:7; 185:6; 186:7 (partly restored); 187:13; 190:18
- nsy.t t3.wy h^c n R^c m p.t* “the kingship of the two lands and the lifetime of Re in heaven,” 145:10–11 (partly restored)
- nsy.t t3.wy m nswt bity Šm^c w Mhw* “the kingship of the two lands as king of Upper and Lower Egypt,” 188:6
- nsy.t t3.wy mī R^c* “the kingship of the two lands like Re,” 149:7
- nsy.t t3.wy mī R^c r^c nb* “the kingship of the two lands like Re every day,” 163:4 (partly restored)
- nsy.t t3.wy qn.t nb.t nht nb* “the kingship of the two lands, all valor and victory,” 189:9 (partly restored)
- r nhh m nswt t3.wy mī R^c r^c nb* “an eternity as king of the two lands like Re every day,” 185:7
- hb(.w)-sd š3 wr* “very many jubilees,” 185:9
- hr ns.t it.f* “upon (sic) the throne of his father,” 183:12
- hh(.w) m rnp.wt hfn.w m hb.w-sd* “millions of years and myriads of jubilees,” 165A:6; 181:11; 193:6
- hh.w m hb(.w)-sd mī R^c* “millions of jubilees like Re,” 144:12; 149:12
- hh.w nw rnp.wt mī R^c* “millions of years like Re,” 167:9
- hsw ...* “praise ...,” 151A:3
- hq3 3w.t-ib* “ruler of joy (sic),” 176A:3
- htp.t nb* “every offering,” 185:15; 186:14; 187:17
- h3s.t nb.t hr tbw.ty.k* “every foreign land beneath your soles,” 163:3
- s.t.i ns.t.i* “my place and my throne,” 161:5
- snb nb 3w.t-ib nb ...* “all health and all joy ...,” 147:12 (partly restored)
- snb nb hr.i* “all health on my part,” 165A:4
- shd.t itn šnn R^c m p.t* “what the sun disk illumines and the circuit of Re in heaven,” 147:4
- šnn.t itn hr tbw.ty.k* “that which the sun disk encircles beneath your soles,” 167:8
- qn.t nb* “all valor,” 187:16
- qn.t nb hr.i* “all valor on my part,” 165A:5
- qn.t nb nht nb* “all valor and all victory,” 200:3
- qn.t nb nht nb 3w.t-ib nb r^c nb* “all valor, all victory, and all joy every day,” 193:7
- qn.t nb nht nb mī R^c hr.i* “all valor and all victory like Re on my part,” 189:8
- qn.t nb nht nb r h3s.t nb d.t* “all valor and all victory against every foreign land eternally,” 144:4
- qn.t nb nht nb hr.i* “all valor and all victory on my part,” 181:8
- qn.t nb nht nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb hr.i ...* “all valor and victory, all health, and all joy on my part ...,” 191:10
- qn.t nht nb* “all valor and victory,” 147:6 (partly restored)
- qn.t nht r h3s.t nb* “valor and victory against every foreign land,” 171B:8 (partly restored); 182:10 (partly restored); 183:10 (partly restored); 184:5
- qn.t nht h3s.t nb hr tbw.ty.k* “valor and victory, every foreign land being under your two soles,” 145:14
- qn.t r rsy(.t) nht r mh.ty* “valor against the south and victory against the north,” 136:10–11 (partly restored)
- qn.t r rsy(.t) nht r mh.ty mī R^c* “valor against the south and victory against the north like Re,” 190:9
- qn.t r rsy.t nht r mh.ty h3s.t nb hr tbw.ty.k d.t sp-sn* “valor against the south and victory against the north, and every foreign land under your soles forever and ever,” 189:16 (partly restored)
- qn.t...[r] t3...* “valor [against...] land [...],” 185:16
- t3.w m htpw* “the flatlands in peace,” 192:12–13
- t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb(.t)* “all flatlands and every hill country,” 176A:6 (partly restored)
- t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb.t pd.t psd.t m ksw n b3w n hm.k* “all flatlands, every hill country, and the nine bows bowing down at the power of your majesty,” 193:15 (partly restored)
- t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb.t pd.t psd.t dmd hr tbw.ty.k mī R^c r^c nb* “all flatlands, every hill country, and the nine bows assembled under your soles like Re every day,” 188:14–15; 189:14–15
- t3.w nb.w h3s.t nb dmd hr tbw.ty.k mī R^c r^c nb* “all flatlands and every hill country assembled under your soles like Re every day,” 184:7
- df3.w nb* “all provisions,” 185:14; 186:13; 187:18
- ... wsr šw* “... the power of Shu,” 149:2 (partly restored)
- ... b3w ...* “... power ...,” 142:8 (partly restored)
- ... mī R^c d.t* “... like Re forever,” 132:11 (partly restored)
- ... nht nb* “... all victory,” 148B:2 (partly restored)
- ... hpš.k wsr.w* “... your strong arm powerful,” 214E:2 (partly restored)
- hp* n. “law”; see *H^c mī R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*
- hrw* vb. 3ae inf. “to be content, to satisfy,” 136:3; 196B:2
- hrw* n. “day”; see (*m*) *hr.t-hrw*
- h.t* n. “mansion, temple,” 197A:1
- h.t-bnw* loc. “Mansion of the Phoenix” (in Heliopolis), 171B:5
- h.t-ntr* n. “temple,” 171A:2 (restored); 172:R IV (restored); 193:8; 196B:2; 197B:1, 2
- H.t-Hr* div. “Hathor,” with the following epithets:
hry.t-ib Dsr.t nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w, 191:12
hry(.t)-tp W3s.t nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w, 184:10; 185:11
- h3* prep. “around, surrounding,” 132:12 (restored), 19 (restored), 28 (restored); 136:8 (restored), 13 (restored); 139:3 (restored), 6 (restored), 7; 144:6; 145:8, 20; 163:6 (restored); 165A:7; 167:18; 171C:2; 176A:14; 180:19; 181:20, 182:11 (partly restored), 27; 183:11, 27; 184:9, 23; 185:10, 17, 27; 187:12, 19, 30; 188:10, 17, 28; 189:10 (restored), 26; 190:11, 19, 31 (restored); 191:30; 192:26; 193:9, 16, 29
- H3w-nbw* n. “the Asiatic littoral,” 192:14
- h3.t* n. “front, forepart, brow”; see *imy-(hr-)h3.t*

- h^c.w* n. “members, limbs,” 132:15 (partly restored); 149:9; 168:5, 6; 196B:2; 197A:2 (three times); 202:Gr. 3, 2; 214E:2; 219C:3
- h^ci* vb. 3ae inf. “to be joyful, rejoice,” 143A; 143B (restored); 171B:2; 172:R IV, M (partly restored); 190:14; 191:14; 197A:1. See also *h^cy-m-m³.t*
- h^cy-m-m³.t hnk sy n R^c m hr.t-hrw* RN “who rejoices in *maat*, who presents her to Re in the course of the day, (Horus name of Merneptah), 172:M (partly restored); 173:M (partly restored)
- h^c.(wt)* n. “joy, jubilation,” 196B:1; 197B:2
- hb-sd* n. “jubilee,” 144:12; 149:12; 165A:6; 172:R IV; 173:R IV; 181:11; 185:9; 193:6; 195:Col. 2 (restored), Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, both restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 214E:2; 217C:1
- hfn.w* n. “myriads, hundreds of thousands,” 147:15; 165A:6; 181:11; 193:6; 197B:1. See also *H^c mī R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*
- hm-ntr* title “priest,” 202:Gr. 2, 3; 212:Gr. 60, 2; 212:Gr. 63, 2; and in the compounds:
hm ntr imy 3bd.f, 212:Gr. 76
hm-ntr sn.nw (n) imn-ip.t, 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2
hm ntr tpy n imn, 202:Gr. 2, 5
hm-ntr tpy n imn-R^c nswt-ntr.w, 200:14–15; 202:Gr. 2, 1
- hm* n. “majesty,” 177B:3; 193:15 (partly restored); 197A:2; 197B:2
- hm.t* n. “wife,” in the compound *hm.t-ntr n imn*, 200:16
- hm.t* n. “copper,” 177A:3
- hn^c* prep. “together with,” 132:25 (restored); 144:19 (partly restored); 187:10 (restored)
- hnw.t* n. “mistress,” in the following compounds:
hnw.t ntr.w (nb.w), 132:13–14 (partly restored); 180:10; 184:10 (written *hnw.t ntr*); 185:11; 188:11; 189:11; 191:12; 216G:2
hnw.t ntr.w nb.w, 180:7–8; 181:9–10; 200:10 (partly restored)
hnw.t t3.wy, 186:10 (restored); 187:13; 219I:4
- hnk* (1) vb. “to offer, present,” 143A; 143B (partly restored); 180:1 (with *m* introducing object, restored); 186:1; 192:1; 193:1. See also *h^cy-m-m³.t hnk sy n R^c m hr.t-hrw*; (2) n. “gift,” 202:Gr. 3, 2
- Hr* div. “Horus,” 143A (in titulary); 143B (in titulary); 143D:1 (in titulary), 2 (in titulary); 144:15 (in titulary); 147:3; 153A:3 (in titulary); 158:6; 161:10; 172:R IV, M (restored); 173:R IV, M (twice, once restored); 176:7 (restored); 180:9, 15 (in titulary); 181:16 (in titulary); 182:22 (in titulary); 183:14, 22 (in titulary); 184:17 (in titulary); 185:21 (in titulary); 186:20 (in titulary); 187:10, 24 (in titulary); 188:21 (in titulary); 189:22 (in titulary); 190:17, 24 (in titulary); 191:16, 23 (in titulary); 192:20 (in titulary); 193:22 (in titulary); 195:Col. 2 (restored, in titulary); 196A:1, 2; 217C:1 (restored); 219C:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (restored), 4 (restored)
- Hr-3h.ty* div. “Horakhty,” 173:M (partly restored); 196A:1; 214E:5 (partly restored). See also *imn-R^c Hr-3h.ty; Wsr-rnp.wt mī it.f Hr-3h.ty*
- Hr-m-hb Mr-n-imn* RN “Horemheb-Merenamun,” 132:22 (partly restored); 136:10 (partly restored), 16; 141:frag. 1949, 2 (mostly restored); 145:17; 149:16; 161:16; 165A:11; 167:16; 168:11; 171A:9; 171B:13; 180:17 (partly restored); 181:18; 184:19; 185:23; 186:22; 187:26; 198:frag. 85, 2 (partly restored)
- Hr-nbw* title of king “Horus of Gold,” 172:R IV, M; 173:R IV, M (partly restored); 196A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 196B:1 (restored), 22 (restored); 197A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 197B:1 (partly restored), 2 (partly restored)
- Hr-T3tnn* div. “Horus-Tatenen,” 217C:1
- hr* n. “face,” 145:1; 173:M (restored); 196A:1. See also *rs-hr; qn-hr*
- hr* prep. “on, upon, concerning, with, because of,” 139:5; 147:3; 149:11; 161:9; 171B:6 (restored), 9 (partly restored); 173:R IV, M (twice, once partly restored, once restored); 176A:4 (restored); 177B:5 (restored); 180:9; 183:12, 14; 185:9; 186:25; 187:9; 188:12; 189:12; 190:14, 17; 191:5, 16 (partly restored); 196A:1, 2 (twice); 196B:2 (twice); 197B:1, 2. See also *hr-^c; hr-mnh; (r-)hft-hr*
- hr-^c* adv. “immediately,” 196A:1
- hr-mnh* adv. “effectively,” 172:M (partly restored); 173:M (restored)
- hry(.t)* nisbe adj. “upon,” in the following compounds:
hry.t hnr.t, 200:21 (partly restored)
hry s.t wr.t 182:4–5; 183:4–5; 190:3–5 (written *hry s.t.f wr.t*); 191:7 (written *hry s.t.f wr.t*)
- hry(.t)-ib* nisbe adj. “residing in,” in the following compounds:
hry-ib ip.t.f, 188:3–4; 191:7
hry-ib ip.t.f nfr.t, 189:4–5
hry-ib ip.t.f šps.t, 161:3; 181:4–6 (partly restored); 184:2–4 (partly restored)
hry.t-ib ip.t, 149:8
hry-ib ip.t s.wt, 200:13 (partly restored)
hry.t-ib ip.t-s.wt, 182:12 (restored); 183:12
hry.t-ib išrw, 144:7
hry-ib W3s.t, 172:R IV; 196B:2; 197A:2
hry.t-ib Dsr.t, 191:12
- hr-tp* prep. “upon,” 172:M
- hry(.t)-tp* nisbe adj. “at the head of,” in the following compounds:
hry(.t)-tp W3s.t, 184:10; 185:11
hry-tp psd.t, 167:6; 186:4 (partly restored); 190:7 (partly restored)
hry-tp (n) ntr.w, 193:2; 216G:1 (partly restored)
hry-tp t3.wy, 200:14
- hry.t* n. “terror, dread,” 136:4
- hry* n. “chief,” in incomplete title *hry* ..., 212:Gr. 63, 1
- hh* n. “million,” 144:12; 149:12; 165A:6; 167:9; 177A:2, 5 (three times); 181:11; 185:26; 193:6; 197B:1; 214E:2
- h(i)hy* vb. 4-lit. “to seek,” 177A:1; 196B:2; 197A:2
- hsw(.t)* n. “reward, praise,” 165A:6; 168:2; 188:9; 202:Gr. 3, 1
- hs.t* title “songstress,” 202:Gr. 2, 3
- hq3* vb. “to rule,” 173:M (partly restored)

- hq3* n. “ruler,” in the compounds:
hq3 3w.t-ib, 176A:3; 192:6
hq3 ip.t-s.wt, 185:3–5; 186:3–4
hq3-W3s.t, 145:17 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored); 151A:2, 7; 161:3; 172:M (partly restored); 187:3; 188:5; 194:6; 198: frag. 85, 3 (in the nomen of Ay, partly restored), frag. 88, 3 (in the nomen of Amenhotep III, mostly restored)
hq3 psd.t, 194:11; 195:Col. 2
hq3 pd.t-psd.t, 145:6; 147:14; 196A:1; 196B:1; 197B:1
hq3 m3^c.t, 172:R IV; 173:M (partly restored)
hq3 mi R^c, 172:M
hq3 mnht, 172:M (partly restored)
hq3 ntr.w, 216G:1
hq3 hq3.w, 173:R IV (partly restored)
hq3 šnn nb itn, 196A:2
hq3 t3 nb, 197A:1; 197B:2
hq3 t3.wy, 136:7; 161:4, 10 (partly restored); 188:7; 189:9 (partly restored)
 See also *imn-htp Hq3-W3s.t*; *it-ntr-iy-ntr-hq3-W3s.t*; *R^c-ms-sw Hq3-šwnw*; *Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-imn*
Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c R^c-ms-sw Mr-imn RN “Heqamaatre-Ramesses-Meremun” (nomen of Ramesses IV), 172:R IV (four times, once partly restored); 173:R IV (four times, three times partly restored); 195:Col. 3 (twice, once restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored, once partly restored), Col. 11 (twice, both restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, once restored, once partly restored); 224B (*Hq3-m3^c.t-R^c* in a cartouche as prenomen, alternating with *R^c-ms-sw*)
hq3(.t) n. “crook (scepter),” 196A:2
hk3w n. “magic,” in the epithet:
wr. t hk3w, 190:12; 196A:2 (as divine name)
htp vb. “to be at rest, be satisfied, set,” 171A:1 (restored); 172:M; 173:M; 188:12; 189:12; 190:13; 191:4; 196B:1; 197A:1. See also *imn-htp Hq3-W3s.t*; *htp-ntr*; *htp-di-nswt*; *Nfr-htp*
htp-ntr “divine offering,” 149:1 (restored)
htp-di-nswt “royal offering,” 148B:1 (partly restored)
htpw n. “peace,” 182:13; 192:13
htp.t n. “offering,” 185:15; 186:14; 187:17
hd adj. vb. (1) “to be bright,” in the epithet of Nekhbet, *hd.t N3n* “the bright one of Hierakonpolis,” 132:20 (restored); 156:2; 180:10; 188:18; 189:17 (partly restored); 192:17; 193:17; (2) “to be light, to brighten,” in *hd-t3*, 197A:2
hd(.t) n. “white crown,” 196A:2
h.t n. “thing, product, offering(s),” 136:10 (restored, uncertain); 176A:8; 190:2, 22, 25; 191:2, 24; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, once restored), Col. 9 (twice, once restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice), Col. 12 (three, once restored); 163:3; 171A:3 (partly restored); 171B:8; 176A:6; 177A:3 (restored, uncertain), 5; 177B:3 (in the compound *tp-h3s.t*), 4; 181:11; 182:10 (restored); 183:9, 10; 184:5, 7, 8; 186:8; 187:13; 188:14; 189:14, 16 (restored); 192:8; 193:15; 196B:2; 197A:2 (twice)
h^ci vb. 3ae inf. “to appear in glory,” 145:5; 171A:1 (restored); 176A:4 (restored); 180:9; 181:11 (restored); 183:13; 185:6, 9; 187:8; 189:9 (partly restored); 190:17; 191:16; 196A:1 (partly restored); 196B:1. See also *H^c-m-m3^c.t*
h^c n. “glorious appearance,” in the compound *nb h^c.w*, 132:22 (restored); 136:10 (partly restored), 16; 143A; 143B; 144:17; 145:17 (restored); 150A:3; 159:frag. 2229, 2 (partly restored); 163:10; 165A:11; 168:11 (partly restored); 172:R IV (three times, once partly restored); 173:R IV (four times, twice partly restored), M (twice); 174A:2 (restored); 177B:1; 182:24; 183:13, 24; 184:19; 186:22; 187:26; 190:26; 191:25; 192:22; 193:24; 195:Col. 2 (three times), Col. 3 (twice, once restored), Col. 4 (twice, once restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, once restored); 196A:2; 196B:1, 2 (twice); 197A:1, 2 (three times); 197B:1 (partly restored), 2 (three times); 214E: 7; 216C:2; 216D:2; 216H; 217C:1; 217G:4, 9; 217H; 219H
H^c-m-m3^c.t RN “appearing in *maat*” (Horus name of Amenhotep III), 144:15; 182:22; 183:22; 188:21
H^c mi R^c m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy RN “who appears in glory like Ptah from amongst myriads in order to establish good laws throughout the two banks” (Two Ladies name of Merneptah), 172:M (partly restored); 173:M (partly restored)
hpr vb. “to become, transform,” 196A:1. See also *Wsr-hpr.w-R^c Mr-imn*; *Nb-hpr.w-R*; *Hpr-hpr.w-R^c ir-m3^c.t*
Hpr-hpr.w-R^c ir-m3^c.t RN “Kheperkheperure-Irmaat” (prenomen of Ay, usurped by Horemheb); 136:1, 15; 141:frag. 1949, 1; 145:1; 198:frag. 85, 2
Hpri div. “Khepri,” 196A:1; 198:frags. 1323 and 1325, 2 (partly restored and uncertain); 214E:3
hps n. “foreleg, (mighty) arm, strength, might,” 147:15; 168:5; 172:R IV (restored); 173:R IV; 177A:2; 190:22; 192:21; 193:23; 195:Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice), Col. 6 (twice, once restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, once restored), Col. 9 (twice), Col. 10 (twice), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 214E:2
(r-)hft-hr prep. “before, in front of,” 173:M
hmi vb. 3ae inf. “to be ignorant,” 177B:4; 197A:2
hni vb. 3ae inf. “to alight, come to rest,” 196B:2
hnr.t n. “musicians,” 200:21 (partly restored)
Hnsw div. “Khonsu,” 194:9; 202:Gr. 3, 1; and with the following epithets:
m W3s.t Nfr-htp, 136:9 (partly restored); 142:9 (partly restored)
m W3s.t Nfr-htp ntr 3 hry-ib ip.t-s.wt, 200:11–13 (partly restored)

Nfr-htp, 194:11

hnt prep. “in front of, from, out of,” 172:M

hnty adj. “foremost (one),” 198:frags. 2143 and 2226, 2; and in the following compounds:

hnty ip.t.f 150B:1 (partly restored); 153A:3; 172:R IV; 182:3–4; 183:3–4; 186:4; 187:4–5; 192:3–4; 193:4; 200:5–6 (partly restored)

hnty ip.t.f šps.t, 144:2; 180:2–4 (restored); 190:6–7

hnty ip.t-s.wt, 153B:3; 165A:2–3; 188:2; 189:2–4; 191:6; 192:2; 200:7 (partly restored); 216G:1

hnty pr-dw>.t, 182:21; 183:21; 184:16; 185:20; 186:19; 187:23; 188:19–20; 189:20–21; 190:23 (partly restored); 191:21; 192:18; 193:20

hnty k>.w nḥ.w, 191:21

hnty t>.wy, 136:18; 185:25; 188:25 (*t>.wy* written as *nn*); 190:28 (partly restored); 191:27 (partly restored); 192:24; 193:26

hnty db>.t, 190:23

hr prep. “with, before, by, from,” 147:5; 161:6; 165A:4, 5; 174B:1 (partly restored); 181:7, 8 (restored); 182:6; 183:6; 185:8; 187:6; 189:6, 7, 8; 190:21; 191:10; 192:15; 197A:1

hrw n. “voice,” in the compound *m>ʿ-hrw* “justified,” 172:M; 200:15 (twice), 20, 21; 202:Gr. 2, 1, 5; 202:Gr. 3, 1; 212:Gr. 76

ht (1) prep. “throughout,” 177B:4; 182:8; 183:7; 186:7 (partly restored), 190:18; 197A:2. See also *Hʿ mī Rʿ m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*; (2) (*m*)-*ht* n. “posterity, future,” 197A:1

htyw n. “hillsides,” 177A:3 (in the compound *tp-htyw* “Lebanese,” partly restored and uncertain)

h.t n. “body, belly, womb,” 136:1, 5 (restored), 10 (restored); 142:9; 171B:2, 3; 172:R IV; 173:R IV; 174A:3 (restored); 176A:9 (partly restored); 177A:2; 177B:1; 186:10 (partly restored); 188:12; 189:12; 190:13, 26; 191:13, 25; 192:10, 22; 195:Col. 2; 196B:1, 2; 197A:1 (twice), 2; 197B:1, 2; 200:16, 18 (restored), 20; 219H

hnw n. “residence,” 202:Gr. 2, 3

(*m*)-*hnw* prep. “within,” 196B:1; 197A:1. See also *Hʿ mī Rʿ m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*

hnm vb. “to imbue, endow, unite” 132:14 (partly restored); 136:11

Hnmw div. “Khnum,” with the following epithet:

nb p.t, 168:4

hr prep. “under, with,” 142:4 (restored); 145:6, 14; 161:7; 163:3; 167:8; 169:2; 173:R IV; 177B:5 (restored); 181:11; 182:9; 183:9; 184:7; 186:8 (restored); 187:13; 188:15; 189:15, 16 (restored); 192:8; 197A:2. See also *imy-(hr-)h>.t*; (*m*) *hr.t-hrw*

(*m*) *hr.t-hrw* adv. “daily, in the course of the day,” 143A (partly restored); 143B (partly restored). See also *hʿy-m-m>ʿ.t hnk sy n Rʿ m hr.t-hrw*

hkr n. “insignia,” in the compound:

hkr Rʿ, 196A:2

htb vb. “to overthrow, throw down,” 142:4

s third person sing. fem. suffix pron., 132:14 (restored), 19 (restored); 139:6; 151A:5 (restored); 161:11, 14; 165A:9 (restored);

167:12, 14; 168:8; 171B:10; 172:R IV (restored), M (restored); 176A:13; 180:11, 12; 181:12, 13 (restored); 184:15; 185:17, 19; 187:19; 188:17; 189:18; 190:19; 191:9; 192:1, 5; 193:12, 16, 18 (omitted); 196B:1 (twice); 197A:1 (four times, once written *sn*); 197B:2 (twice)

st fem. 3d pers. sing. dependent pron., 173:M (restored); 197A:1. See also *hʿy-m-m>ʿ.t hnk sy n Rʿ m hr.t-hrw*

s.t n. “seat, throne, place,” 173:M; 185:9; 196B:1; 197A:1; and in the following compounds:

šw.t.š ns.t.š s.t.(.š), 156:1 (partly restored)

šw.t.š s.t.š ns.t.š hʿ.š wnn tp t>, 190:10 (partly restored); 191:8; 192:7

s.t.š ns.t.š, 161:5

s.t wr.t, 182:5; 183:5; 190:4–5 (written *s.t.f wr.t*); 191:7 (written *s.t.f wr.t*)

s.t Rʿ, 139:5; 171B:9 (partly restored)

s.t Hr, 147:3; 161:9–10; 173:M (partly restored); 180:9; 183:14; 190:17; 191:16; 196A:1

s.t Hr n.t nḥ.w, 183:14–15; 187:9–10

See also *ip.t-s.wt*

s> n. “son,” 132:14 (restored); 136:1, 9; 142:9; 144:7; 149:8; 168:4; 171B:2, 3; 172:M; 173:M; 177A:1; 182:12; 183:12; 184:10; 185:11; 186:10 (restored); 187:13; 188:11 (partly restored); 189:11; 190:13; 191:12; 192:10; 193:10; 196A:2; 196B:1, 2; 197A:2 (twice); 197B:1, 2; 200:15; 202:Gr. 2, 2; 212:Gr. 60, 1; 212:Gr. 63, 2; 212:Gr. 76; 212:Gr. 77, 2; 214E:1, 4 (restored); 219C:4; and in the following compound:

s> Rʿ, 132:22 (restored); 136:16; 143A; 143B; 144:17; 145:17 (partly restored); 147:15; 150A:4 (partly restored); 153A:2; 153B:2; 154A:5; 154C:4 (restored), 6; 156:4 (restored), 7 (twice, once erased); 159:frag. 2229, 2 (restored); 161:16; 167:16 (partly restored); 168:11; 171A:9; 171B:13 (partly restored); 172:R IV (four times, once restored), M (nine times, three times restored, twice partly restored); 173R IV (four times), M (six times, twice restored, once partly restored); 174A:3 (restored); 176A:9; 177B:1, 5; 180:17; 181:18; 182:24; 183:24; 184:19; 185:23; 186:22; 187:26; 188:23; 189:24; 190:26; 191:25; 192:22; 193:24; 194:1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 195:Col. 2 (three times), Col. 3 (twice, both restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice, once restored), Col. 6 (twice, both restored), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, both restored), Col. 10 (twice, once restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, both restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:2 (twice); 196B:1, 2 (three times); 197A:1, 2 (three times); 197B:1 (partly restored), 2 (three times); 198:frag. 85, 3 (restored), frag. 88, 3 (restored); 214E: 1, 5; 216C:2; 216D:2; 216H; 217C:1; 217E:2; 217H; 217I:2; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4; 219E:2; 219G:2; 219H; 219I:2

s>.t n. “daughter,” 200:16, 18 (restored), 20; 202:Gr. 2, 4

s> n. “protection,” in the following compounds:

s> nḥ, 165A:7; 176A:14; 185:17; 188:28

s> nḥ ..., 136:8 (restored), 13 (restored); 186:9; 189:26

s> nḥ ... *nb*, 132:12; 139:3 (partly restored)

- s3* *nh* ... *nb snb nb* ... *nb*, 163:6 (partly restored)
s3 *nh* ... *nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 139:7 (partly restored)
s3 *nh w3s* ..., 191:18
s3 *nh w3s nb*, 145:20; 185:10
s3 *nh w3s nb snb nb*, 132:19 (partly restored); 184:23
s3 *nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 188:10
s3 *nh nb snb nb*, 139:6; 186:26 (partly restored)
s3 *nh nb dd w3s nb*, 167:18
s3 *nh dd w3s*, 184:9; 187:19 (partly restored), 30; 192:16; 193:16
s3 *nh dd w3s* ..., 150B:2; 191:11
s3 *nh dd w3s nb*, 132: 28 (partly restored); 158:5; 171C:2; 181:20; 185:27
s3 *nh dd w3s nb snb nb*, 180:19; 182:27; 183:27; 191:30
s3 *nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 182:11 (partly restored); 183:11 (partly restored); 187:12; 190:11
s3 *nh dd w3s snb*, 189:10
s3 *nh dd w3s snb* ..., 190:31; 192:9
s3 *nh dd w3s snb nb*, 144:6; 145:8
s3 *nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 193:9, 29 (partly restored)
- s3i* vb. 3ae inf. "to be sated," 197A:1
s3b adj. "variegated," in the epithet:
s3b 3w.t, 144:13; 147:13
- s3* caus. vb. "to make great, magnify, aggrandize," 136:18; 173:M (restored); 184:21; 196B:2; 197B:1, 2
s'nh caus. vb. "to make live, enliven," 172:M (twice, both partly restored); 173:M
S'nh-t3.wy RN "who enlivens the two lands" (Horus name of Sety I), 190:24; 191:23; 192:20; 193:22
- sw* (1) third person sing. masc. dependent pron., 143A (for *sy*, restored); 143B (for *sy*, partly restored); 173:R IV, M; 177A:1; 197A:2; 197B:1 (twice), 2; 200:2; see also *R' ms-sw*; *R' ms-sw Mr-imn*; *R' ms-sw Hq3-iwnw*; *Hq3-m3' .t-R' R' ms-sw Mr-imn*;
 (2) third person sing. masc. pronominal compound, 196A:2
- sw' b* caus. vb. "to purify," 197A:2
swht n. "egg," 136:19; 196A:1
swsh vb. caus. 3-lit. "to enlarge, extend," 197A:2
swd vb. caus. 2-lit., spelled *sw3d* "to bequeath," 136:5; 161:5
sb3 n. "portal," 177A:3 (restored), 4; 177B:2
sp n. "occasion, deed" 177A:1; 197B:1 (partly restored); 214E:2; and in the compounds:
sp-fdw "four times," 171B:1 (restored)
sp-sn "twice," 139:6; 171B:3; 185:17; 187:14; 189:16; 191:16; 193:10
sp-tpy "first occasion," 172:R IV (*sp.s tpy*, partly restored); 196B:1; 197A:1
spd adj. "effective"; see *Spd-shr.w*
Spd-shr.w RN "effective of plans" (Horus name of Horemheb), 180:15; 181:16; 184:17; 185:21; 186:20 (partly restored); 187:24 (partly restored)
sm3 vb. "unite," 182:13
- sm3* vb. "to slaughter," 196B:2; 197A:2
sm3 caus. vb. "renovate, renew," 196B:1; and in the in compound *sm3wy mnw*, 180:20 (restored); 181:21 (partly restored); 196A:1; 197A:1; 197B:2
sm3.ty title "stolist," 212:Gr. 60, 1 (as *sm3.ty wr*); 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2
smn caus. vb. "to establish," 136:7 (partly restored); 196A:2; 196B:2. See also *H' mi R' m-hnw hfn.w r smn hp.w nfr.w ht idb.wy*
smnh caus. adj. vb. "to ennoble, embellish," 177A:1; 196B:2; 197A:1; 197B:2
sn third person plural suffix pron., 136:5 (restored); 144:9; 145:4; 172:M; 173:M (partly restored); 177B:5 (twice, once restored, once written *s*); 182:9 (restored); 183:8; 186:8; 190:18 (restored); 196A:1 (twice); 196B:2; 197A:2 (twice)
snl vb. 3ae inf. "to be like, resemble," in the compound *m sn(.t) r* "in the likeness of," 196B:1 (twice); 197A:1; 197B:1 (partly restored); 2 (partly restored)
snb n. "health," 165A:4; 202:Gr. 3, 2; and in the following compounds:
nh ... *nb snb nb* ... *nb*, 163:6 (partly restored)
nh ... *nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 139:7 (partly restored)
nh w3s ..., 191:17
nh w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 186:18
nh w3s nb snb ..., 144:14
nh w3s nb snb nb, 132:19 (partly restored); 150A:1 (partly restored); 183:16; 184:15, 23; 185:8
nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 186:5; 187:21–22; 188:10
nh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nb nht nb, 187:14
nh wd3 snb, 202:Gr. 2, 4
nh nb snb nb, 139:6 (partly restored); 186:26 (partly restored)
nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb, 153B:3 (partly restored)
nh dd w3s nb, 156:6
nh dd w3s nb snb nb, 180:19; 181:7; 182:20 (as *nh dd w3s snb nb*), 27; 183:20, 27; 191:30; 200:4
nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 144:3; 168:1; 182:6 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 183:6, 11; 187:6, 12; 189:6; 190:11; 191:22
nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nht nb, 167:10
nh dd w3s snb, 189:10
nh dd w3s snb ..., 190:31; 192:9
nh dd w3s snb nb, 144:6; 145:8
nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 144:3; 193:9, 29 (partly restored)
w3s snb nb qn.t nb, 192:26 (partly restored)
snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 147:12 (partly restored)
qn.t nb nht nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb, 191:10 (partly restored)
- sn.nw* ordinal number "second," 212:Gr. 77, 1, 2
snht caus. vb. "to make victorious"; see *Snht Km.t dr pd.t-psd.t*
Snht Km.t dr pd.t-psd.t RN "who makes Egypt victorious, who drives back the nine bows" (Horus of Gold name of Merneptah), 172:M (partly restored); 173:M (partly restored)

- snq* (1) vb. “suck (milk),” 144:9; (2) n. “suck,” 144:8 (partly restored)
- sntr* n. “incense,” 132:1 (restored); 145:1; 147:1; 158:1; 161:1; 167:1; 182:1; 183:1 (partly restored); 200:1
- snd* n. “fear,” 136:3, 12
- srwd* vb. caus. “to strengthen, perpetuate, restore,” 196B:1; 197B:1 (partly restored)
- shri* caus. of 3ae inf. vb. “to make glad,” 172:M (partly restored)
- shb* caus. vb. “to make festive,” 173:R IV (partly restored), M (restored)
- shn* n. “commander,” 202:Gr. 3, 1 (partly restored)
- shtp* caus. vb. “to satisfy,” 173:M (partly restored)
- shd* caus. vb. “to illumine,” 147:4; 173:M; 190:15; 193:11; 196B:1; 197A:1; 197B:2
- sh^ci* caus. vb. 3ae inf. “to cause to appear in glory,” 186:24; 196B:2
- shpr* caus. vb. “to bring about, to bring into existence,” 172:R IV; 173:R IV
- shm* n. “power,” in the epithet of Wepwawet: *shm t3.wy*, 171A:3
- Shm.t* div. “Sekhmet,” 194:12; and with the following epithet:
^c3.t mr.t Pth nb.t p.t wr.t hk3, 190:12
- shr(.w)* n. “plan(s), condition, manner,” 197B:1. See also *Spd-shr.w*
- shkr* caus. vb. “to adorn, decorate,” 177A:3
- sš* n. “scribe,” 205:Gr. 16
- sšm* vb. “to lead, guide, direct,” 196A:1
- sšm* title “leader,” 212:Gr. 60, 2
- Sty Mr-n-Pth* RN “Sety-Merneptah,” (1) nomen of Sety I, 190:26; 191:25; 192:22; 193:24; 196A:2; 196B:1, 2 (twice); 197A:1, 2 (twice); 197B:1, 2 (twice); (2) nomen of Sety II, 154A:5; 154C:4 (partly restored), 6 (partly restored); 156:4, 7 (restored); 159:frag. 108 obv., 2 (partly restored), 5 (partly restored), 7 (partly restored); 194: 1 (twice), 2 (twice), 4 (twice), 5 (twice), 6 (twice), 7 (twice), 9 (twice), 10 (twice), 11 (twice), 12 (twice), 13 (twice), 14 (twice)
- stp* vb. “to choose, prefer,” 136:18; 171B:15; 172:M (partly restored); 173:M (restored); 185:25; 190: 28; 191:27; 193:26; 195:Col. 12. See also *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-^cimn*; *Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c*; *Stp-n-R^c Mr-^cimn*
- Stp-n-R^c Mr-^cimn* RN “Setepenre-Meramun” (prenomen of Philip Arrhidaeus), 153A:1, 3; 153B:1
- sthn* caus. vb. “to make brilliant,” 190:16
- Stt* loc. “Asia,” 177A:3
- sdf3* vb. caus. “to replenish, provision,” 197B:1
- sdr* vb. “to spend the night,” 197A:2
- š3* vb. “to ordain,” 177A:4
- Šw* div. “Shu,” 149:2 (partly restored)
- šw.t* n. “plume,” 191:3 (dual *šw.ty*); and in the epithet:
s3b šw.t, 144:13; 147:13
- šw.t* n. “shadow, shade,” 196B:2
- šps* adj. vb. “to be august, noble,” 144:2; 161:3; 173:M (restored); 177B:2 (restored); 180:4; 181:6; 184:4; 190:7; 197A:1; 214E:1
- šft* n. “the ram form,” 177A:4
- Šm^cw* loc. “Upper Egypt,” 165A:9; 167:14; 171A:3; 181:11; 184:6; 185:6; 187:9; 188:6; 190:30
- šm^cy.t* title “chantress,” 200:19 (restored)
- šni* vb. 3ae inf. “to encircle,” 167:8; 171B:16; 196A:2
- šn* n. “circuit,” 147:4
- šsp* vb. “to receive, to take,” 144:5; 149:6; 171B:4 (restored); 172:M; 188:13; 189:13; 196A:2 (twice)
- št3* adj. “secret, mysterious, remote,” 177A:5
- q3i* adj. vb. ult. inf. “to be high, long,” 191:3; 202:Gr. 3, 2
- qbhw* n. “libation,” 132:1 (partly restored); 158:1; 161:1; 167:1; 182:1–2 (partly restored); 183:2; 188:1; 189:1; 200:1
- qm3* vb. “to create,” 136:2; 149:10 (questionable); 196A:1; 214E:4
- qni* vb. 3ae inf. “to be brave, able, dutiful,” in the compound *qn-^hr* “vigilant,” 173:M (partly restored)
- qn.t* n. “valor,” 136:10; 165A:5; 185:16; 187:16; 189:16; 190:9; 198:frag. 2227 (partly restored); and in the compounds:
^cnh w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-^{ib} nb qn.t nb nht nb, 187:14
^cnh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-^{ib} nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb, 153B:3 (partly restored)
^cnh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-^{ib} nb qn.t nht nb, 167:10
w3s snb nb qn.t nb, 192:26 (partly restored)
qn.t nb nht nb, 144:4; 181:8; 189:8, 9 (partly restored); 191:10 (partly restored); 193:7; 200:3
qn.t nht, 145:14; 147:6; 149:3–4 (partly restored); 171B:8 (partly restored); 182:10 (partly restored); 183:10 (partly restored); 184:5
- qd* vb. “to build, fashion,” 149:9 (partly restored); 168:5; 172:R IV
- k* second pers. sing. masc. suffix pron., 132:15 (restored); 136:2 (twice), 3, 4 (restored), 12; 142:4 (restored); 144:5, 8, 9, 19 (twice, once restored); 145:1 (twice), 6, 13, 14; 149:6, 9, 10; 161:7 (twice), 10; 163:3 (restored); 165A:6; 167:7, 8; 168:5, 6; 169:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 171B:2; 176A:5, 7; 181:11 (twice); 182:8 (restored), 9; 183:8, 9; 184:7, 8; 185:9; 186:7 (restored), 8 (restored); 187:13 (twice); 188:9 (restored), 12, 13, 15, 16; 189:7, 12, 13, 15; 190:14, 15 (twice), 18; 191:9 (twice), 13 (restored), 14; 192:5 (twice), 8, 11; 193:8, 11, 15 (restored); 196A:1 (twice), 2 (three times); 198:frag. 2107; 214E:1 (twice), 2, 3 (three times), 4 (twice), 6, 7; 217C:2, 3. See also *n.k*
- k(wi)* first person sing. qualitative ending, 190:14; 191:14
- k3* n. “ka,” 132:25 (restored); 144:19 (restored); 145:1; 196B:2; and in the following compounds:
hnty k3.w^cnh.w, 191:21
k3 nswt^cnh nb t3.wy, 180:14; 181:15
k3 nswt^cnh nb t3.wy nb ir-^h.t nb hpš hnty db3.t hnty pr-dw3.t, 190:22–23
k3 nswt^cnh nb t3.wy hnty pr-dw3.t, 182:21; 183:21; 184:16; 185:20; 186:19; 187:23; 188:19–20; 189:20–21; 192:18; 193:20
k3 nswt^cnh nb t3.wy hnty pr-dw3.t hnty k3.w^cnh.w, 191:21

- k3* n. “bull,” in the following names and epithets:
K3-mwt.f 136:1, 20; 163:2; 182:3; 183:2 (partly restored); 183:3; 186:2; 190:3; 191:3; 196A:2; 197A:2; 200:5 (restored)
k3 nht “mighty bull,” 143A; 143B; 143D:1 (partly restored), 2 (partly restored); 144:15; 153A:3; 158:6 (partly restored); 172:R IV, M (restored); 173:R IV, M (restored); 180:15; 181:16; 182:22; 183:22; 184:17; 185:21; 186:20; 187:24; 188:21; 189:22; 190:24; 191:23; 192:20; 193:22 (partly restored); 219C:1 (restored), 2 (restored), 3 (restored), 4 (partly restored)
- k3.t* n. “work,” 172:R IV; 196A:1, 2; 197A:1, 2
- Km.t* loc. “Egypt, the black land (cultivation),” 173:R IV (twice); 177A:2; 177B:4; 197A:2. See also *mk-Km.t w'f-pd.t-psd.t*; *Snht Km.t dr pd.t-psd.t*
- ksw* n. “bowing,” 136:12 (restored); 177A:4 (restored); 193:15; 197A:2
- Gb* div. “Geb,” 149:11 (partly restored); 188:8
- gmī* vb. 3ae inf. “to find, plan,” 197A:1, 2
- gn.wt* n. “annals,” 196A:2
- t3* n. “land, flatland, earth,” 136:11; 145:6; 149:13; 172:R IV (twice, once as *t3.wy*), M (as *t3.wy*); 173:R IV (twice, once *t3.wy*), M (restored); 176A:6; 177A:1, 5; 177B:4; 182:9, 13; 183:9; 184:6, 7, 22; 185:16; 186:8 (partly restored); 188:14; 189:14; 190:10 (partly restored); 191:8; 192:7, 12; 193:15; 196A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 196B:1, 2; 197A:1 (restored), 2 (restored); 197B:1 (twice), 2 (twice); and in the following compounds:
p3w.ty t3.wy, 185:2; 196B:2
nb ns.wt t3.wy, 144:1; 165A:2; 169:1; 171A:2 (written *nb ns.t t3.wy*); 176A:2 (partly restored); 181:4; 184:2; 188:2; 189:2; 192:2; 193:2; 194:1, 9, 13; 195:Col. 2; 196B:2; 197B:2; 200:1; 216G:1
nb t3.wy, 132:14 (restored), 21 (restored); 136:10 (restored, uncertain), 15; 143A (partly restored); 143B; 144:8, 16; 145:16 (restored); 147:14; 150A:3 (partly restored); 159:frag. 108, rev. 2; 163:9; 165A:10; 168:10 (partly restored); 171A:8; 171B:2; 172:R IV (three times, twice partly restored); 173:R IV (three times), M (twice, both partly restored); 177B:5; 180:14; 181:15; 182:21; 182:23 (partly restored); 183:21, 23; 184:16, 18; 185:20, 22; 186:10, 19, 21; 187:13, 23, 25; 188:12, 19; 189:12, 20; 190:13, 22 (partly restored), 25; 191:13, 21, 24; 192:11, 18, 21 (partly restored); 193:11, 20, 23; 194:2; 195:Col. 2 (twice), Col. 3 (twice, once restored), Col. 4 (twice, both restored), Col. 5 (twice), Col. 6 (twice), Col. 7 (twice, both restored), Col. 8 (twice, both restored), Col. 9 (twice, once restored), Col. 10 (twice, both restored), Col. 11 (twice, once restored), Col. 12 (twice, once restored), Col. 13 (twice, both restored); 196A:1 (three times, once restored), 2; 196B:1 (twice, once partly restored), 2; 197A:1 (three times, once partly restored), 2; 197B:1 (three times, once restored), 2 (partly restored); 202:Gr. 2, 2; 214E:6; 216C:1; 216D:1; 217C:2, 3; 217F; 217G:3, 8; 219F
- nb.t t3.wy*, 200:17 (written *nb t3.wy*), 19 (written *nb t3.wy*)
nswt t3.wy, 136:6–7 (partly restored); 139:5 (partly restored); 144:5; 185:7; 186:6; 189:7, 9 (partly restored); 192:6, 21 (partly restored); 196B:2
nsy.t t3.wy, 145:10 (partly restored); 149:7; 163:4; 183:7; 185:6; 186:7 (partly restored); 187:13; 188:6; 189:9; 190:18
hnw.t t3.wy, 186:10 (restored); 187:13; 219I:4
hry-tp t3.wy, 200:14
hq3 t3 nb, 197A:1
hq3 t3.wy, 136:7; 161:4, 10 (partly restored); 188:7
hnty t3.wy, 136:18; 185:25; 188:25 (*t3.wy* written as *nn*); 190:28 (partly restored); 191:27 (partly restored); 192:24; 193:26
shw t3.wy, 171A:3
t3-tmww, 197A:1
- See also *hd-t3*; *S'nh-t3.wy*
- T3-tnn* div. “Tatenen,” 214E:2. See also *Pth-T3-tnn*; *Hr-T3tnn*
- t3š* n. “border, boundary,” 197A:2
- tī* second person sing. qualitative ending, 145:6; 147:3 (written *tī*); 149:11 (written *tī*); 176A:4 (written *tī*, restored); 180:9 (written *tī*); 185:6 (written *tī*), 9 (written *tī*); 187:8 (written *tī*); 189:9 (written *tī*); 190:17 (written *tī*); 191:16 (written *tī*); 196A:1 (written *tī*)
- tī* third person sing. fem. qualitative ending, 190:16 (written *tī*); 196B:2 (written *tī*); 197A:1 (written *tī*)
- tī* third person pl. fem. qualitative ending, 196A:2
- tī.t* n. “image,” in the compound:
tī.t R', 136:18; 177A:2 (within the cartouche of *Nb-m3'.t-R'*); 185:25; 188:25; 190:28; 191:27 (partly restored); 192:24; 193:26; 196A:1; 196B:1
- tw* indefinite pron., 196A:1; 197A:1, 2
- tw* second person sing. masc. dependent pron., 136:3 (restored), 7; 149:11 (restored); 171B:4
- twt* adj. vb. “to be fair, perfect”; see *Twt-‘nh-īmn*; *Twt-msw.t Twt-‘nh-īmn* RN “Tutankhamun,” 161:16; 165A:11; 167:16; 168:11; 171A:9; 184:19; 185:23; 186:22; 187:26
- Twt-msw.t* RN “fair of birth” (Horus name of Tutankhamun), 180:15; 181:16; 184:17; 185:21; 187:24; 189:22
- tp* n. “head,” 177A:1 (in the compound *rs-tp*); 196A:2; 197A:2 (erased); 197B:2 (in the compound *rs-tp*)
- tp* prep. (1). “upon,” 177A:1; 184:6, 22; 190:10 (restored); 191:8; 192:7; (2) generalizing, in the compound *tp-htyw*, 177A:3 (partly restored); (3) generalizing, in the compound *tp-h3s.t*, 177B:3. See also *hry(.t)-tp*
- tp-rd* n. “instruction (for work),” 196A:1
- tpy* adj. “first, primeval,” 172:R IV; 196B:1; 197A:1; 200:14; 202:Gr. 2, 1, 5
- tm(mw)* adj. vb. “be complete,” 202:Gr. 3, 2. See also *t3-tmww*
- tbw.ty* n. “soles, sandals,” 142:4; 145:6, 14; 161:7; 163:3 (partly restored); 167:8; 169:2; 181:11; 182:9; 183:9; 184:7; 186:8 (restored); 187:13; 188:15; 189:15, 16 (restored); 192:8

- tni* vb. 3ae inf. “to distinguish,” 149:10 (questionable)
- ts* vb. “to tie, bind, govern,” 197B:1
- dw3* vb. “to adore,” 171B:1; 173:M (restored)
- dw3.t* n. “morning”; see *pr-dw3t*
- dbh* vb. “to beg,” 202:Gr. 3, 1
- Dp* loc. “Dep,” in the compound epithet *Py.t Dp(y).t* “she of Pe and Dep,” 158:3
- dm3* vb. “to bind up,” 169:2 (partly restored)
- dmd* vb. “assemble, unite,” 184:7; 188:15; 189:15
- dr* vb. “to cast down, drive back”; see *snht Km.t dr pd.t-psd.t*
- d3r(.t)* n. “red crown,” 196A:2
- d3r.t* loc. “the red land (desert),” 177A:2
- d.t* (1) n. “eternity, everlastingness,” 139:5 (partly restored); 171B:9; 177A:5; 192:6; 197A:1; 197B:1; (2) adv. “eternally, forever,” 132:11 (restored), 19, 28 (restored); 139:6, 7 (restored); 144:4, 6; 145:1, 8, 20; 153A:3; 153B:3; 156:1 (restored), 5; 158:4; 161:9; 171B:11; 172:R IV (twice, once restored), M; 173:R IV (twice); 174A:6 (restored); 176A:4; 177A:4; 177B:1, 5; 180:13; 181:3, 20; 182:11 (restored); 183:11, 15; 184:13; 185:17, 24; 186:15; 187:10, 12, 13, 14, 19; 188:17; 189:10, 16, 19, 26 (restored); 190:8, 10, 11 (partly restored), 19, 23; 191:16; 192:8, 19; 193:16, 21; 196A:1, 2; 214E:1, 5; 217C:4; 217E:3; 219C:1, 2, 3, 4
- d.t* n. “body,” in the group *n d.t d.t*, 177A:5
- d3m* n. “electrum,” 149:10 (restored); 168:6; 177A:3; 177B:3
- d3r* vb. “to seek, investigate, take thought, plan, conceive (actions),” 197A:1
- db3.t* n. “palace,” 190:23
- df3.w* n. “provisions,” 185:14; 186:13; 187:18
- dr* prep. “since, when,” 173:R IV (partly restored)
- Dhwt* div. “Thoth,” 196A:2
- ds* n. “-self,” 136:18; 171B:15 (restored); 172:M (restored); 190:29; 193:28; 196A:1; 200:2
- d3r* adj. “holy, sacred,” 136:19
- d3r.t* loc. “Djeseret,” 191:12
- D3r-hpr.w-R3 Stp-n-R3* RN “Djeserkheperure-Setepenre” (prenomen of Horemheb), 132:14 (restored), 21 (restored); 136:1, 15; 141:frag. 1949, 1 (mostly restored); 144:8; 145:16; 149:16; 161:15; 165A:10; 167:15; 168:5, 10; 171A:8; 171B:2, 12 (partly restored); 180:16 (restored), 20 (restored); 181:17, 21; 184:10 (partly restored), 18; 185:11, 22; 186:10, 21; 187:13 (partly restored), 25; 198:frag.85, 2 (partly restored), frag. 1268 (partly restored)
- dd* vb. “to say,” in the following compound:
- dd mdw* “words spoken,” 132:5–10 (six times, five times restored), 13–17 (five times, once restored); 136:1–12 (twelve times, eleven times restored); 142:1 (restored), 3 (restored), 9 (restored); 144:3, 4, 7; 145:4 (restored), 5 (partly restored), 9 (partly restored); 147:3, 4, 5, 7; 149:2 (restored), 8 (restored); 151A:3, 4, 8; 151B:1, 2, 3; 159:frag. 108, rev. 1 (partly restored); 161:4, 5, 6, 7; 163:3, 4; 165A:4, 5; 167: 7 (restored), 8 (restored), 9 (restored); 168:1, 2 (restored), 4; 171B:2, 3 (restored); 176A:3; 180:5, 6, 9; 181:7, 8 (restored), 11; 182:6, 12, 13, 14, 15; 183:6, 12; 184:5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12; 185:6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; 186:5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; 187:6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18; 188:6, 7, 8, 11, 14; 189:6, 7, 8, 11, 14; 190:8, 9, 12; 191:8, 9, 12; 192:5, 6, 7, 10, 12; 193:5, 6, 7, 10; 202:Gr. 3, 1; 214E:1, 4 (restored)
- dd* vb. “to be steadfast, endure,” 193:8
- dd* n. “stability,” in the following compounds:
- nh ... nb*, 132:12 (partly restored)
- nh w3s dd.t*, 171B:10–11
- nh nb dd w3s nb*, 167:18
- nh nb dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn(.t) nb [nht] nb*, 153B:3 (partly restored)
- nh dd w3s*, 144:18; 147:18; 149:6; 161:13; 165A:9; 167:13, 17; 171A:5, 6; 171C:2; 176A:7; 177B:5; 181:13 (partly restored); 184:9; 187:30; 188:20; 189:21; 190:8; 192:16, 19, 23; 193:16; 196A:1; 197B:2
- nh dd w3s ...*, 150B:2; 191:11
- nh dd w3s nb*, 132:28 (partly restored); 147:5; 156:6; 158:5; 168:8; 171C:2; 180:12; 181:20; 185:27; 186:11; 187:19 (partly restored); 192:15; 193:8, 21
- nh dd w3s nb ...*, 191:17
- nh dd w3s nb ... nb*, 182:16
- nh dd w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 190:21
- nh dd w3s nb snb nb*, 180:19; 181:7; 182:20 (as *nh dd w3s snb nb*), 27; 183:20, 27; 191:30; 200:4
- nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 144:3; 168:1; 182:6 (partly restored), 11 (partly restored); 183:6, 11; 187:6, 12; 189:6; 190:11; 191:22
- nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb qn.t nht nb*, 167:10
- nh dd w3s snb*, 189:10
- nh dd w3s snb ...*, 190:31; 192:9
- nh dd w3s snb nb*, 144:6; 145:8
- nh dd w3s snb nb 3w.t-ib nb*, 193:9, 29 (partly restored)
- nh dd nb*, 163:5 (partly restored)
- nh ... dd*, 182:18
- COPTIC**
- ΔKH** possible writing of **ΔΕΙΚ/ΔΙΚ**, 208:Gr. 39, 2 (uncertain)
- N-** genitive part., 208:Gr. 39, 2 (uncertain)
- NΔKH** possible writing of **NΔK/NOO**, adj. “great,” 208:Gr. 39, 2 (uncertain)
- π-** masc. def. article, 208:Gr. 39, 2
- Π[ΔPMOYΘI]** n. “Parmouthi” (month), 208:Gr. 39, 1 (uncertain)
- ϠΔI** n. “festival,” 208:Gr. 39, 2

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- Ἄμμων div. "Amon," 207:Gr. 36 (as Ἀμῶν, partly restored); 209B:Gr. 47
- βασιλεύω vb. "to rule," 207:Gr. 34
- δῖς adv. "twice, double," 209B:Gr. 47
- Ἐπιφ (? for Ἐπίφ), 207:Gr. 33 (uncertain)
- ἔτος n. "year" (in the abbreviated form L), 207:Gr. 33
- εὐχαριστέω vb. "to give thanks, be grateful," 209B:Gr. 47
- Ἴσις div. "Isis," 207:Gr. 38 (partly restored)
- ἦκω "to have come, be present," 213:Gr. 94
- Θεός 213:Gr. 89 (partly restored)
- ἱατρός n. "medic," 209B:Gr. 47
- ἰνδικτιών (< Latin *indictio*) in the abbreviated form /IN^Δ/, n. "indiction" (in dating), 208:Gr. 39, 2
- ΙΧΘΥC (ἰχθύς) n. "fish" (monogrammatic anagram for Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ σαυρός), 207:Gr. 31
- καί conjunct. "and, also," 207:Gr. 38
- κόσμος n. "world," 207:Gr. 34
- κτήσιος adj. and div. epithet "protector of house and property," 207:Gr. 37
- ὁ, ἡ, τό def. art., 206:Gr. 28; 207:Gr. 32, Gr. 33, Gr. 34 (three times), Gr. 35; 208:Gr. 39, 2; 209B:Gr. 47 (twice)
- ποιέω (as ποιῶ) vb. "to do, make," 207:Gr. 33 (partly restored and uncertain)
- προσκύνημα n. "votive inscription," 206:Gr. 28; 207:Gr. 32 (partially written), Gr. 33, Gr. 34, Gr. 35 (restored)
- Σελήνη div. "Selene," 207:Gr. 36 (partly restored)
- σπείρα n. "body of soldiers, maniple, cohort," 209B:Gr. 47
- Χωνς (?) div. "Chonsu," 207:Gr. 36 (mostly restored)

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- ΙΘ "19," 207:Gr. 33
- Ι[...] 208:Gr. 39, 2
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- ḥ-mw.t.f* "Akhmutef," 212:Gr. 73
- ḥw.f-ʿz* "Efo," 212:Gr. 76
- ḥmn-ms* "Amunmose," 212:Gr. 74
- ḥmn-ḥtp* "Amenhotep" (son of Hapu), 202:Gr. 3, 1
- Pz-ḥp(y)* "Pa-ipy," 212:Gr. 63, 3
- [Pz-]mī šrī* "[Pa]my, the younger," 204
- Pzy-ḥnḥ* "Piankh," 200:15

- Pzy-ndm* "Pinudjem," 200:15
- [Pz-dī]l[...]* "Padi..." (uncertain), 202:Gr. 2, 4
- Pz-tī-ḥmn-ḥpy* "Petiamunipy," 205:Gr. 17
- Pz-dī-ḥr-pz-ḥrd* "Padihorpakhered," 212:Gr. 60, 2; 212:Gr. 77, 2
- [Pz-dī-]Ḥnsw-ḥy* "[Padi]khonsuiy," 202:Gr. 3, 1
- Mz-ʿ.t-kz-R-ʿ* "Maatkare," 200:17
- [Mnh]l-Ḥnsw* "[Menekh]khonsu," 205:Gr. 17
- Ms(?)* 213:Gr. 82
- Ndm-Mw.t* "Nedjemmut," 200:21
- R-ʿ* "Re," 212:Gr. 75
- Ḥnw.t-tz.wy* "Henuttawy," 200:20 (partly restored)
- Ḥr-sz-zs.t* "Horsiese," 212:Gr. 60, 1; 212:Gr. 72; 212:Gr. 77, 2
- Ḥtp-pz-R-ʿ* "Hoteppre," 212:Gr. 63, 2
- Ḥtp-r-ʿ* "Hotepre," 212:Gr. 76
- Sty-nḥt.f* "Sethnakhtef," 212:Gr. 63, 1
- Šzšzq* "Sheshonq," 202:Gr. 2, 1, 5
- Dd-Bz.s.t-ḥw.s-ḥnḥ* "Djedbastesankh," 202:Gr. 2, 3–4

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- Ἀμερῶς 209B:Gr. 45 (twice)
- Ἀπύγκις(?) (as Ἀπύχις?), 213:Gr. 91 (partly restored)
- ΑΡΙΑΗ(?) 213:Gr. 81
- Ἀχιλλοῦς (for Ἀχιλλεύς?), 206:Gr. 27
- Καλή(?) 213:Gr. 87
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- ΛΙΚΙΝΙC (for Λικίνιος?), 207:Gr. 32
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- Πλάτων 207:Gr. 33
- Πτολεμαῖος 207:Gr. 37 (RN: in dative plural form, written ΠΤΟΛΕΜΙΟΙC)
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- Στάσιμος 213:Gr. 90 (partly restored)
- Ταυ... 213:Gr. 93
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COPTIC

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- ΠΑΤΕΡΜΟΥΤΕ 208:Gr. 39, 1
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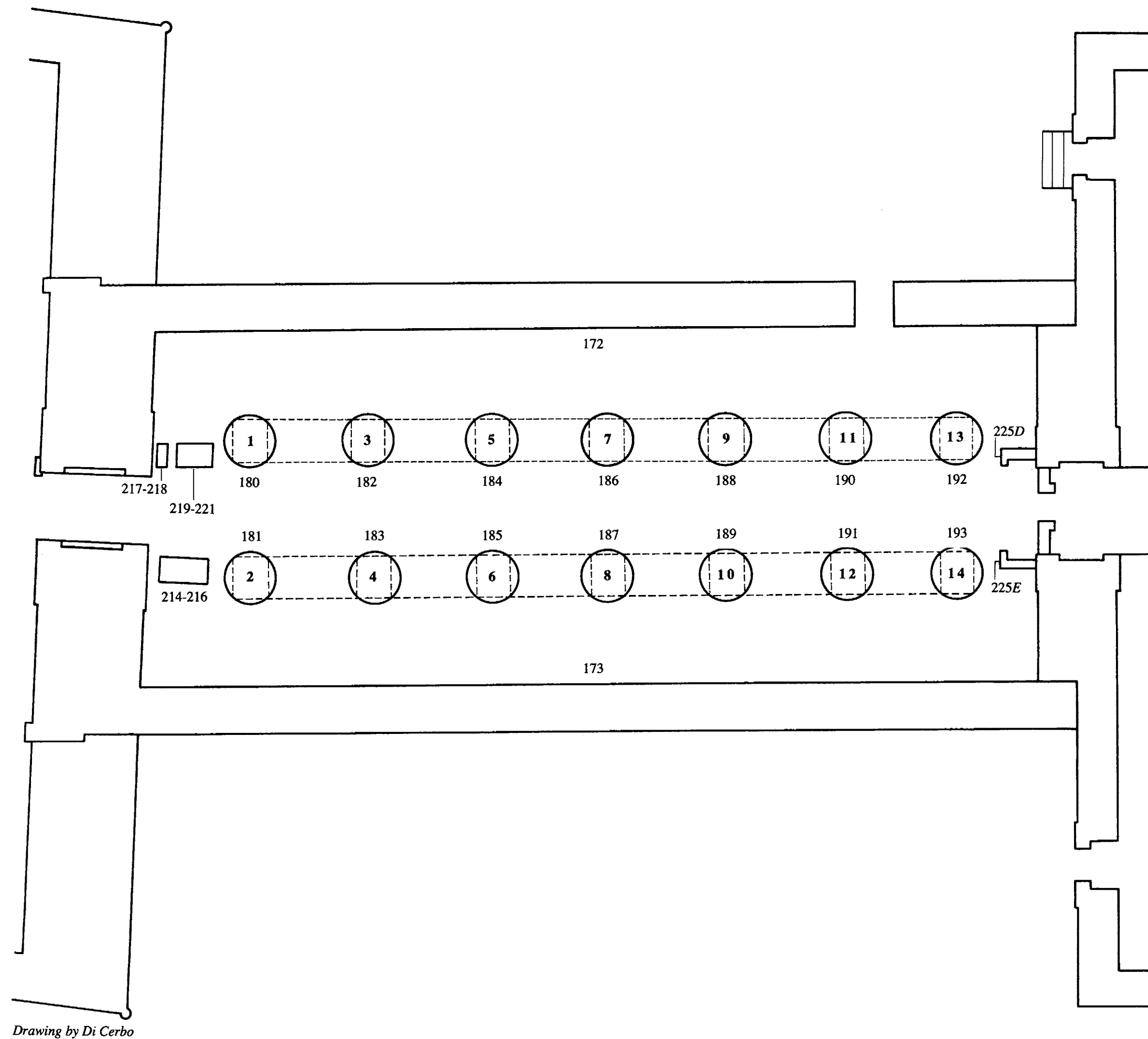
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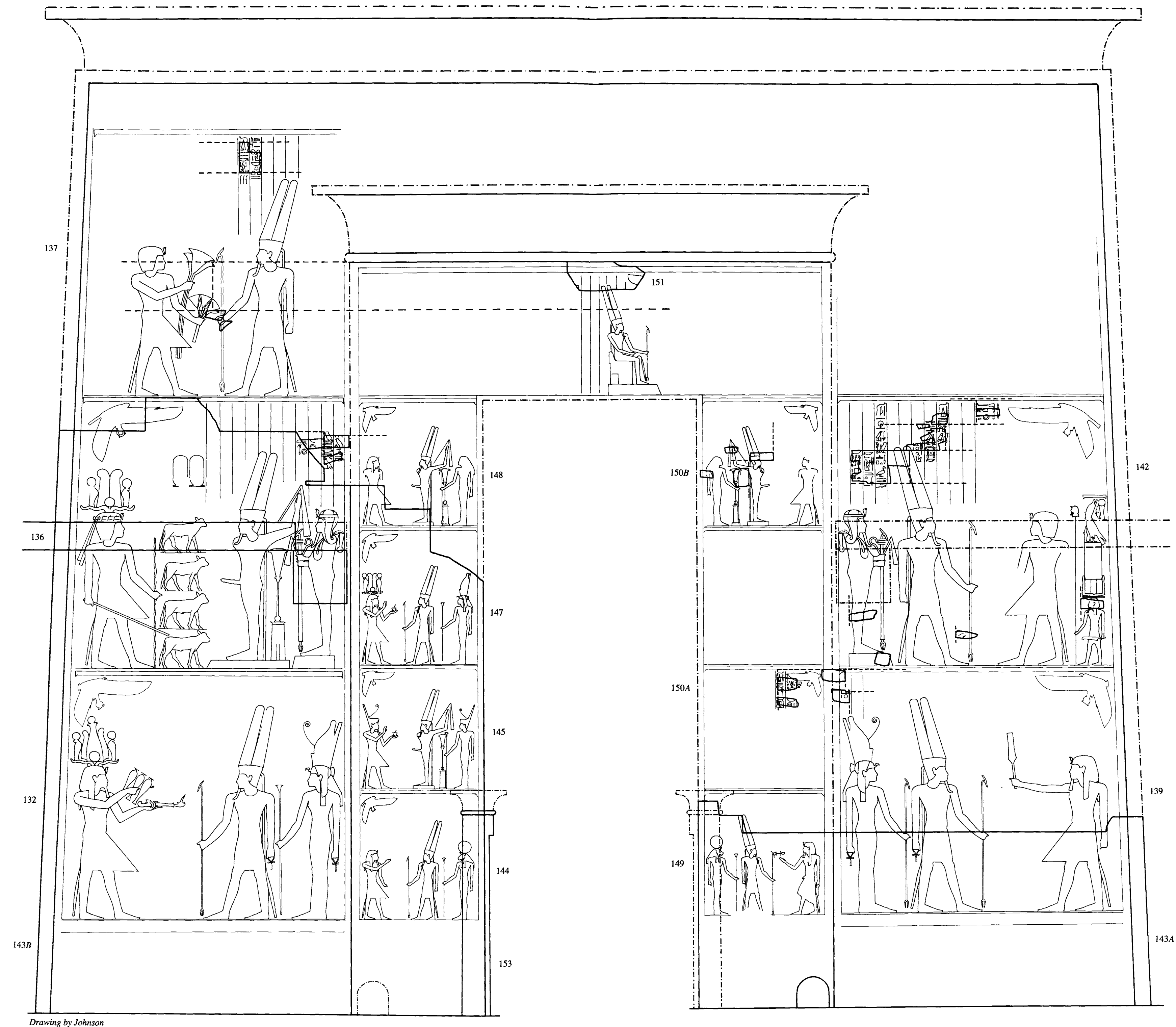
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GROUND PLAN OF THE COLONNADE HALL IN LUXOR TEMPLE

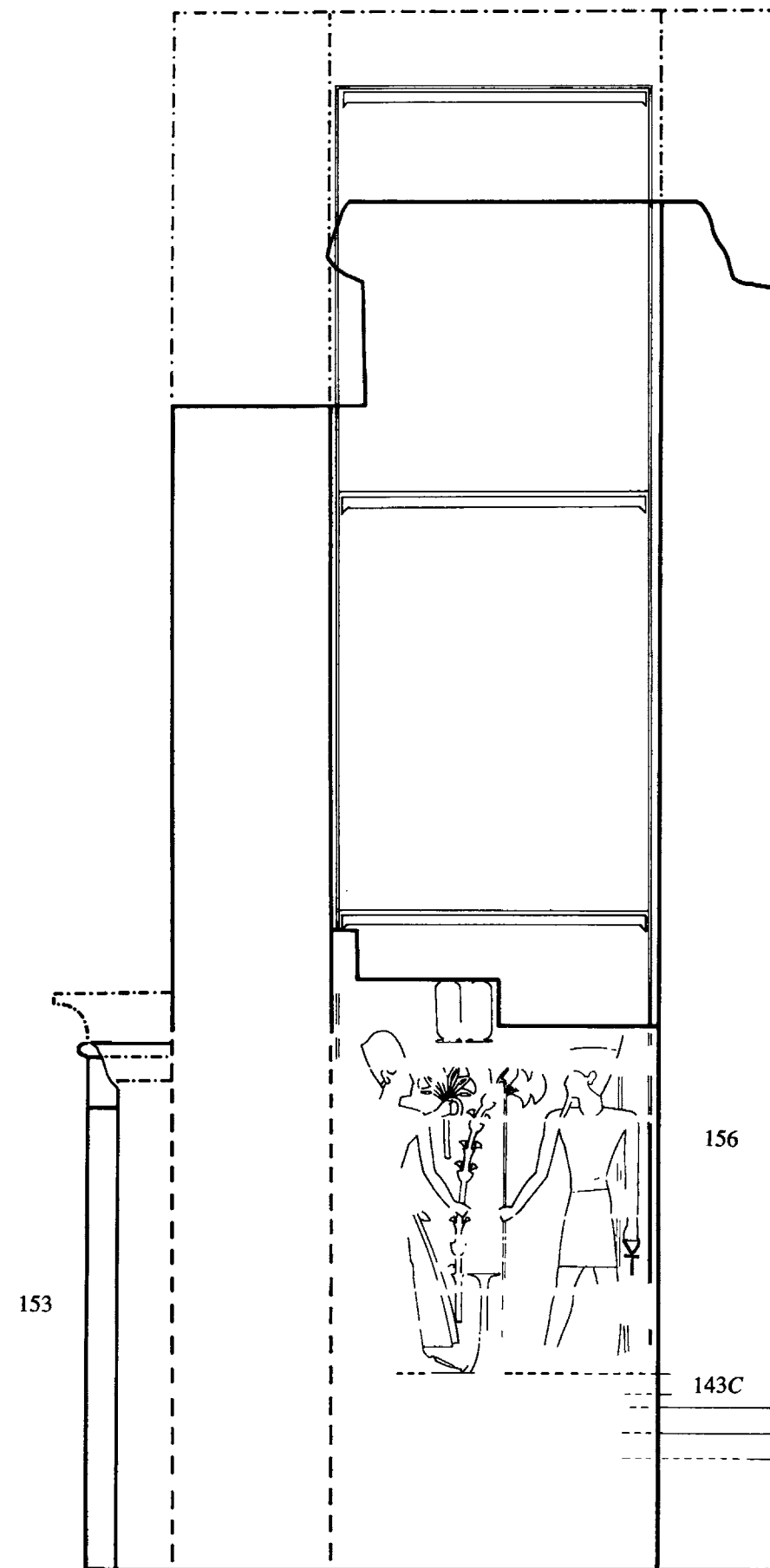
NUMBERS IN REGULAR TYPEFACE REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS; NUMBERS IN BOLD REFER TO COLUMNS



1. ELEVATION OF THE FACADE OF THE COLONNADE HALL

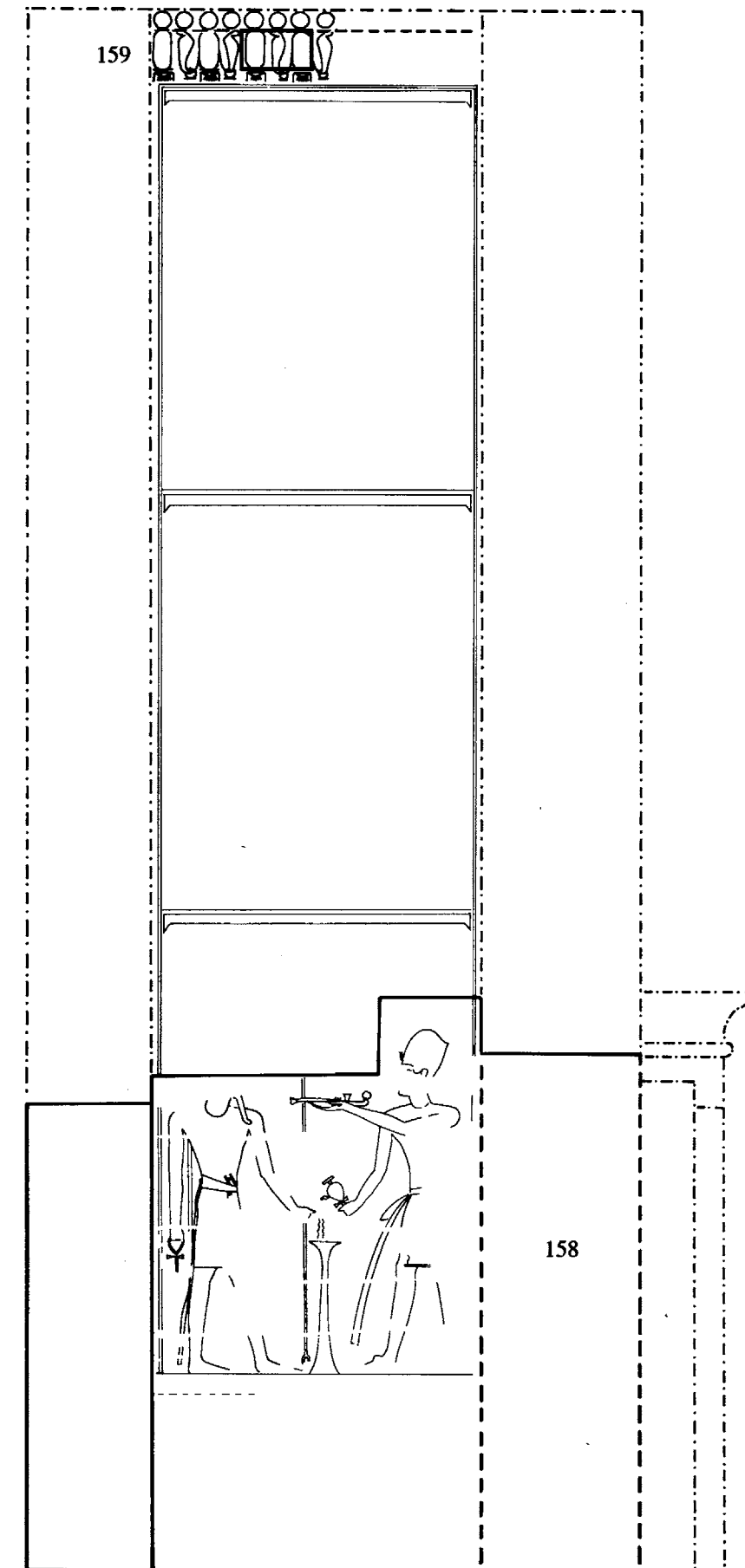
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NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS



Drawings by Johnson

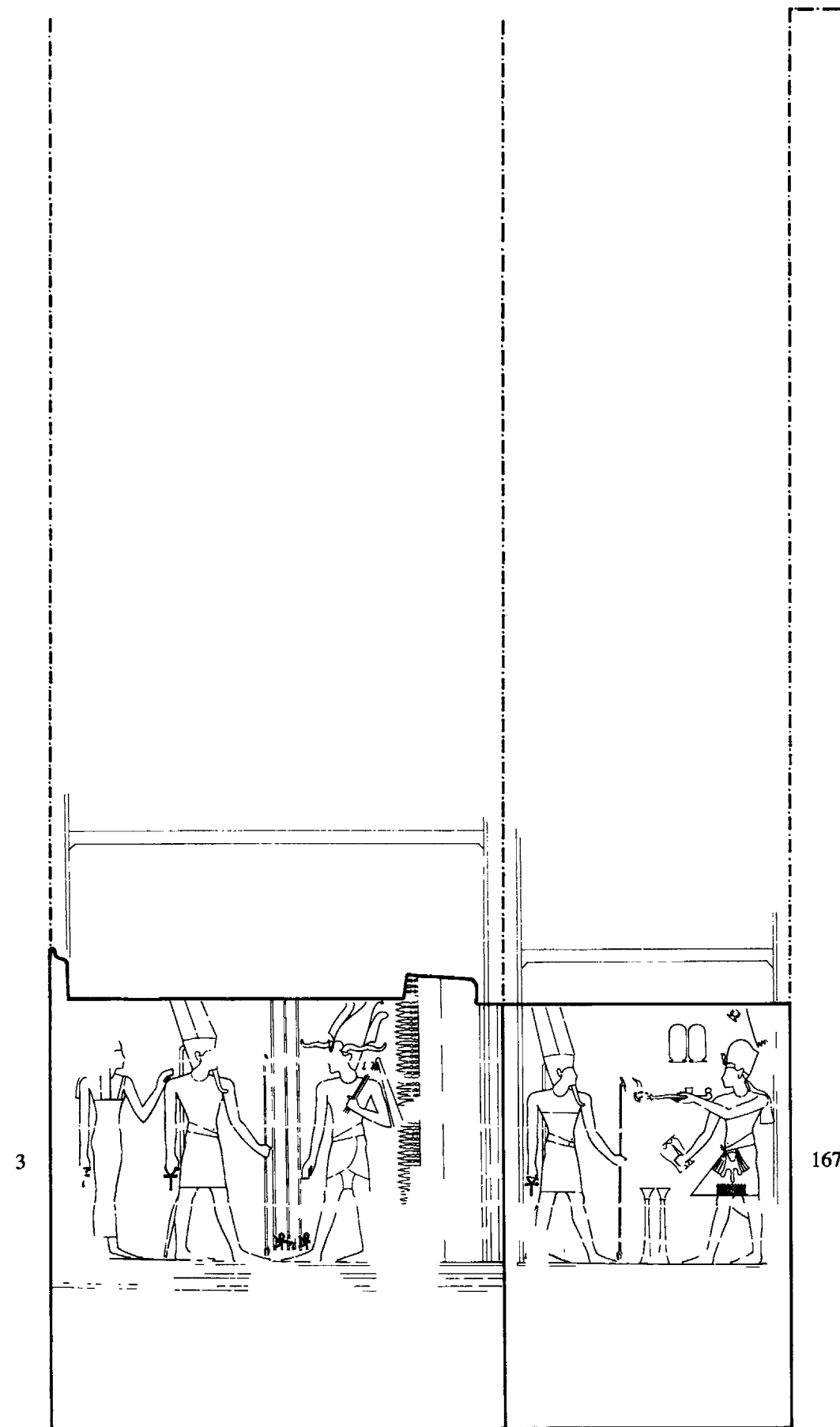
2. ELEVATION OF THE EASTERN THICKNESS OF THE NORTH PORTAL



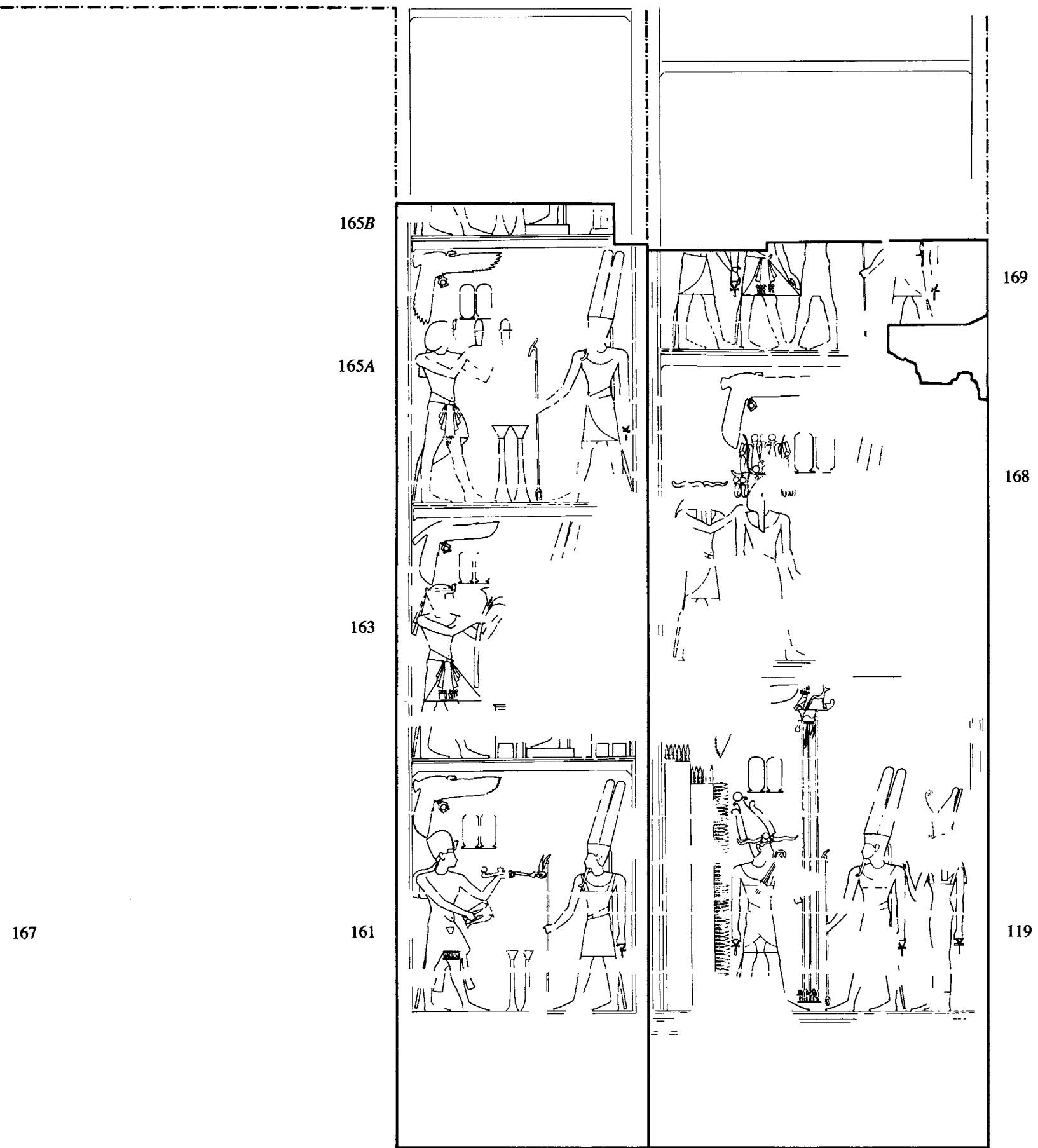
3. ELEVATION OF THE WESTERN THICKNESS OF THE NORTH PORTAL

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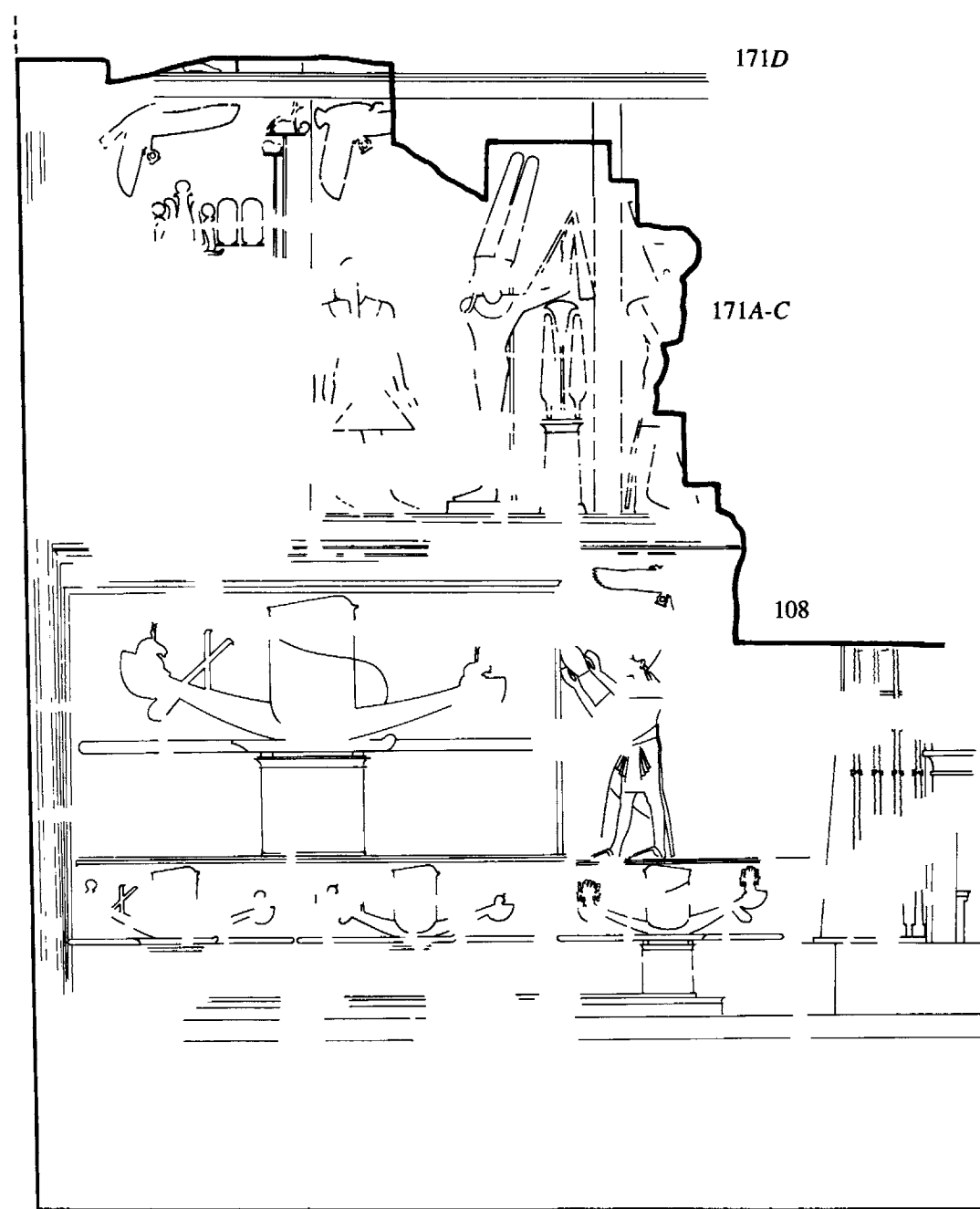
Drawing by Johnson



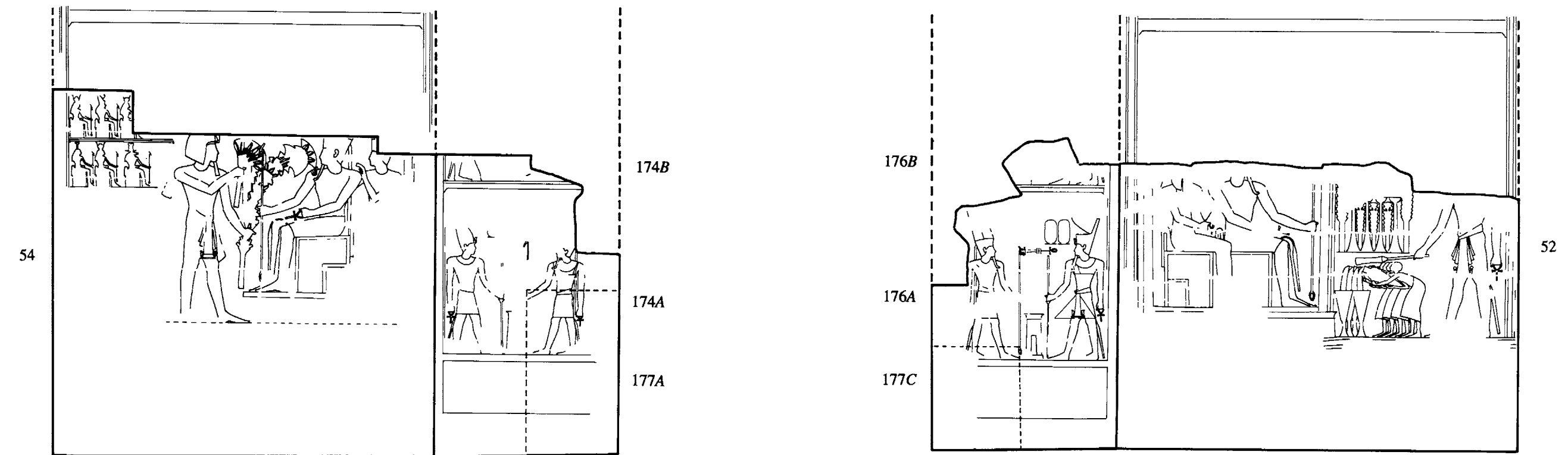
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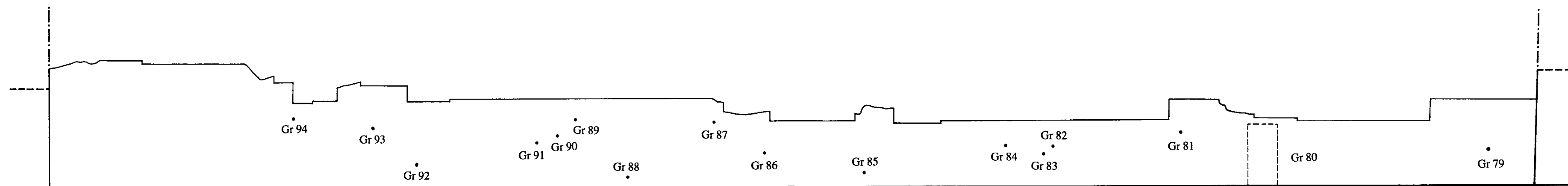
NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS



5. ELEVATION OF THE INTERIOR EAST WALL



6. ELEVATION OF THE INTERIOR SOUTH WALL



Drawings by Di Cerbo and Johnson

7. ELEVATION OF THE EXTERIOR WEST WALL

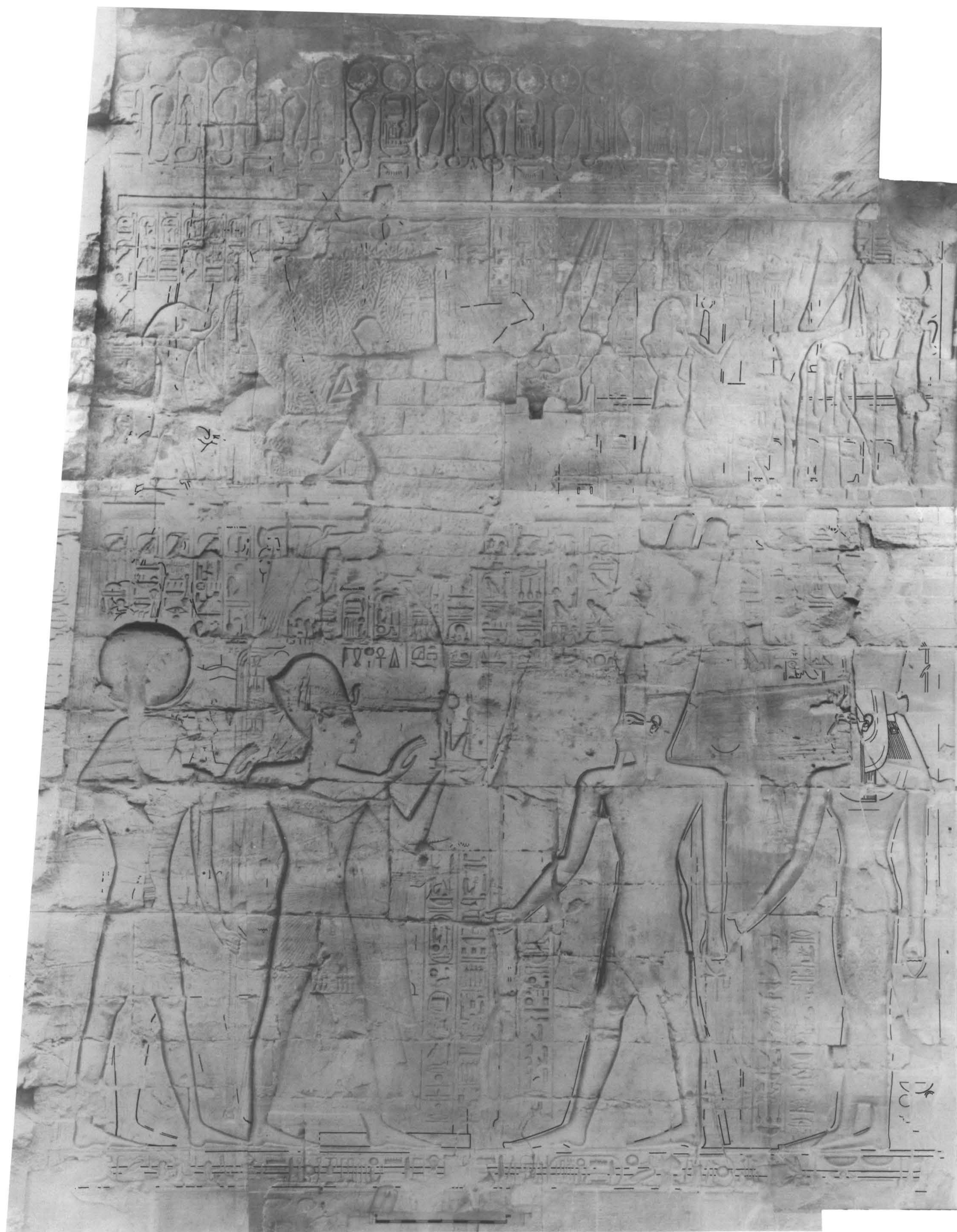
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NUMBERS NEXT TO SCENES REFER TO PLATE NUMBERS OR GRAFFITI NUMBERS



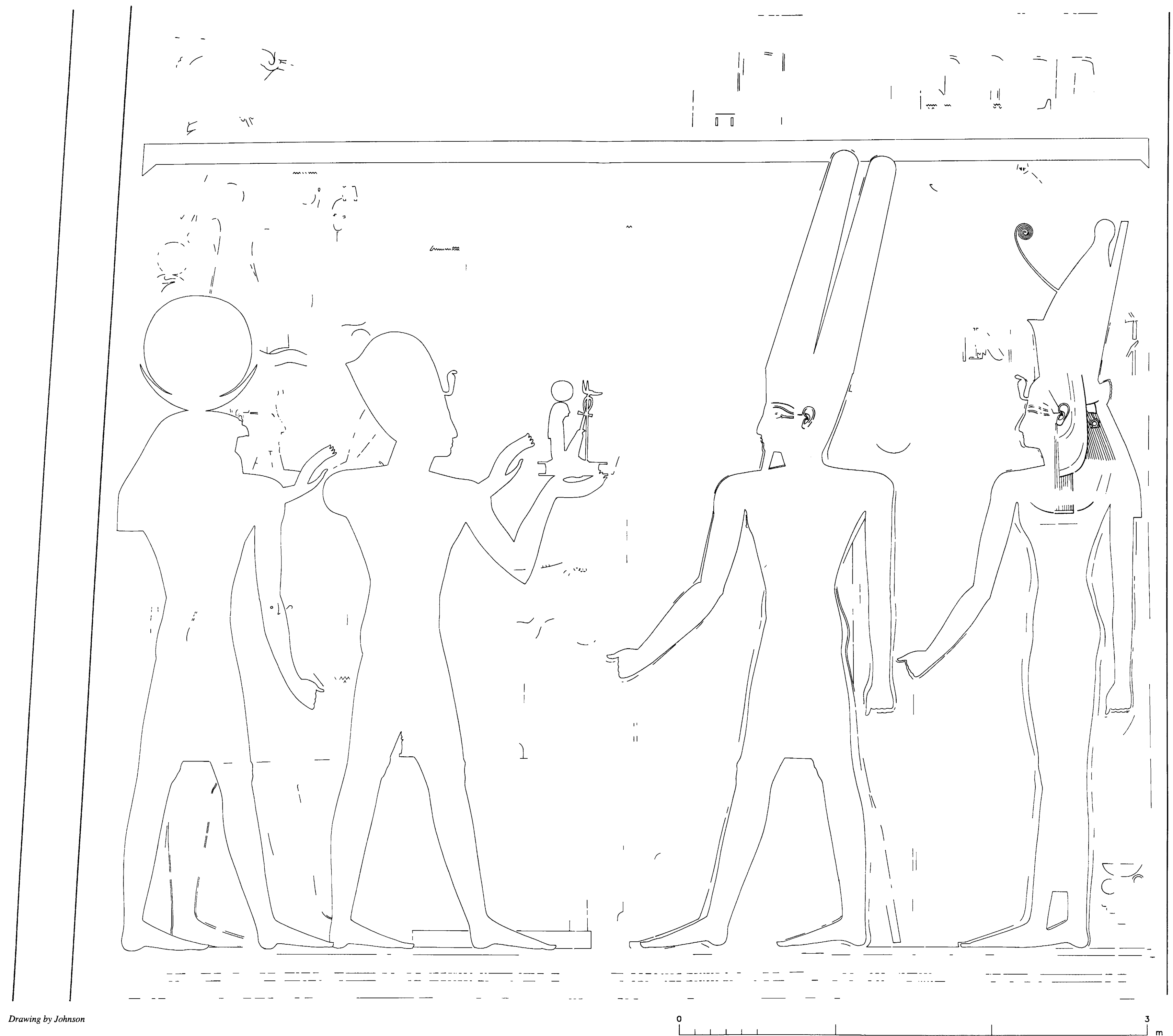
Photograph by E. Krause

THE COLONNADE HALL VIEWED FROM THE NORTHWEST



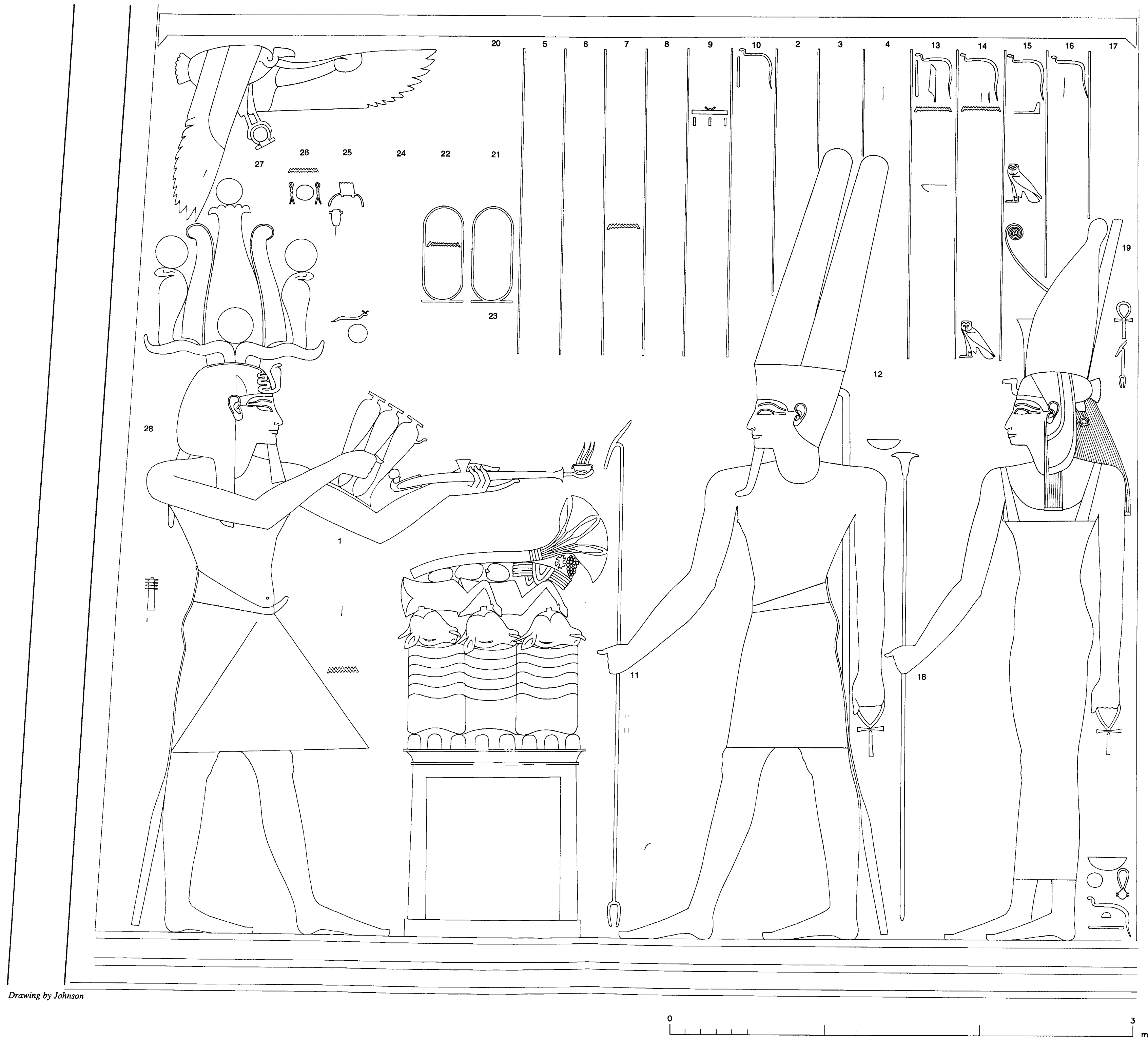
Photograph by Barrett, Kobylecky, and E. Krause
Drawing by Johnson

TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION BELOW THE RAMESSIDE ROOFLINE
FACADE, EAST WALL
(Compare plates 131, 132, 135, 136, and 143)

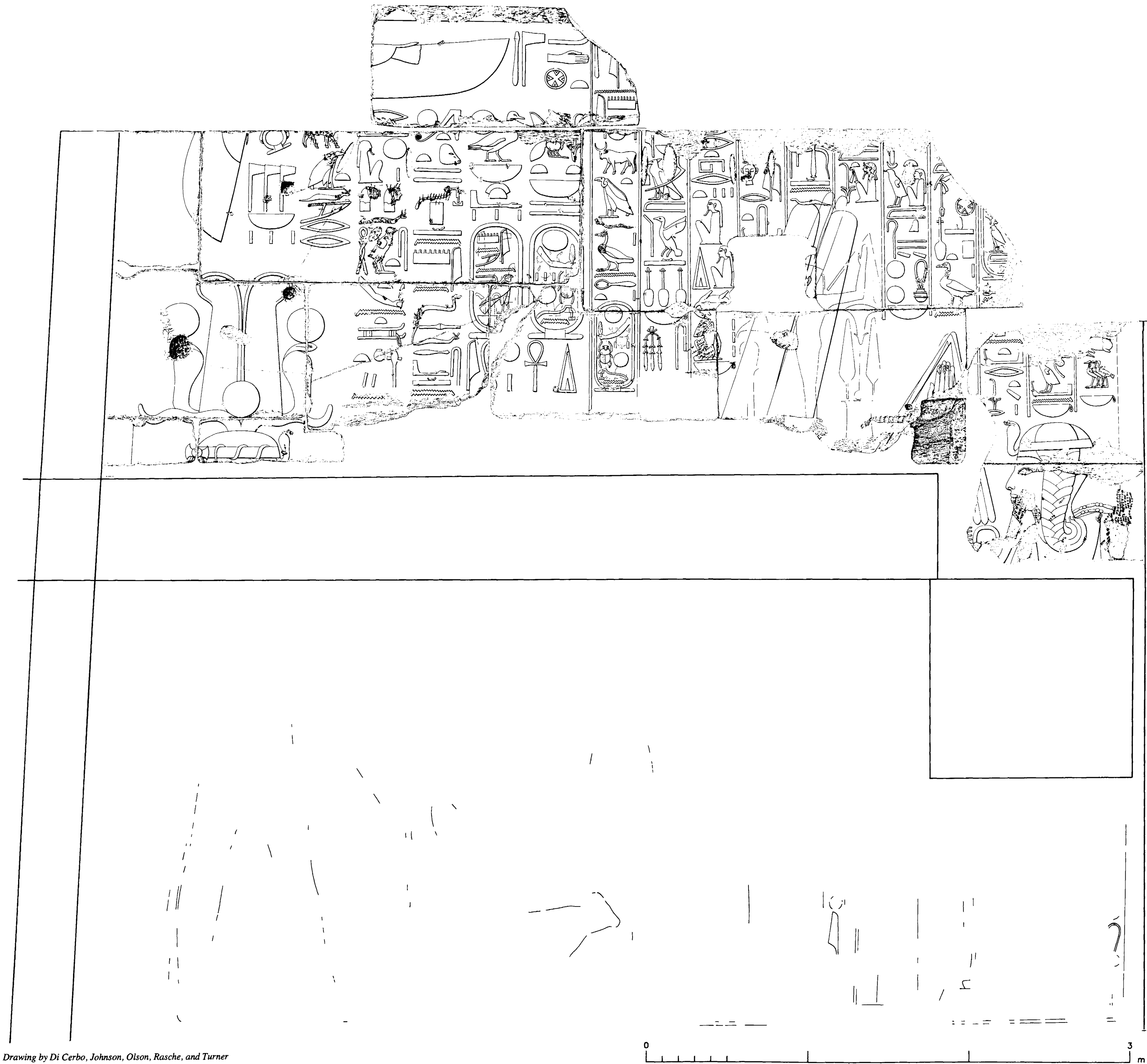


Drawing by Johnson

TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION IN CONTEXT
FACADE, EAST WALL, FIRST REGISTER
(See plate 130)

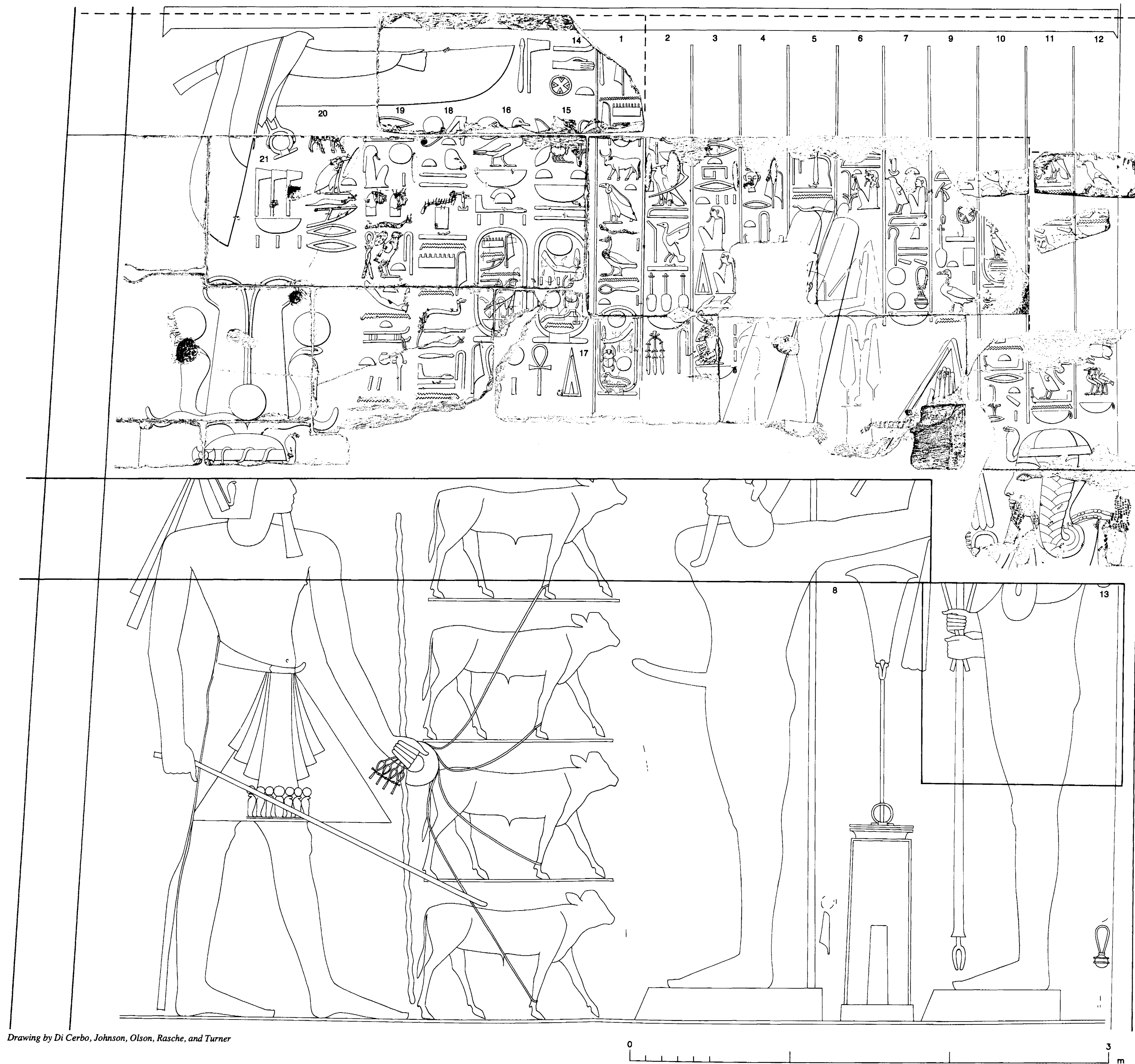


THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
 FACADE, EAST WALL, FIRST REGISTER
 (See plate 130)



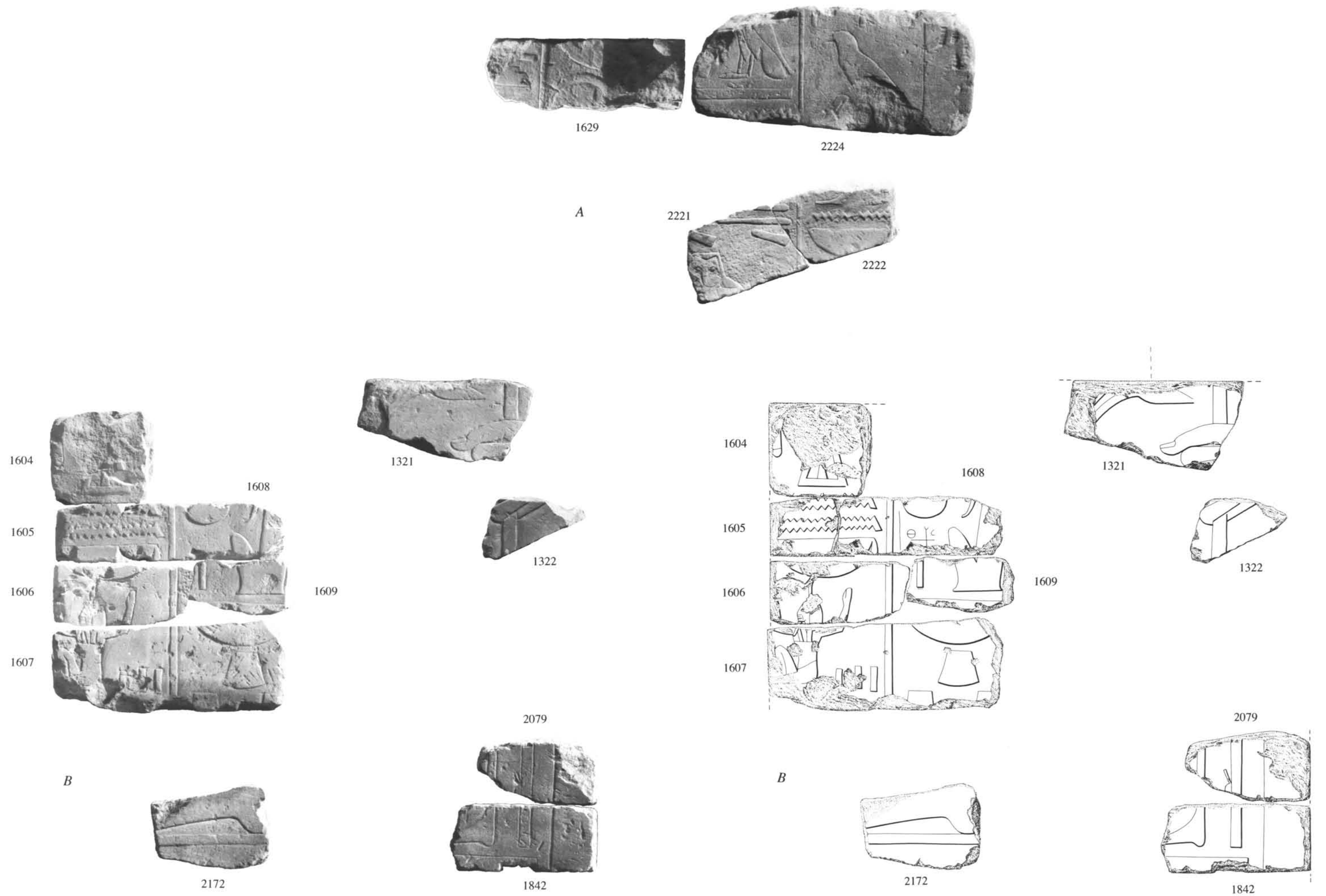
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Johnson, Olson, Rasche, and Turner

TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION IN CONTEXT
 FACADE, EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER
 (See plates 130 and 133)



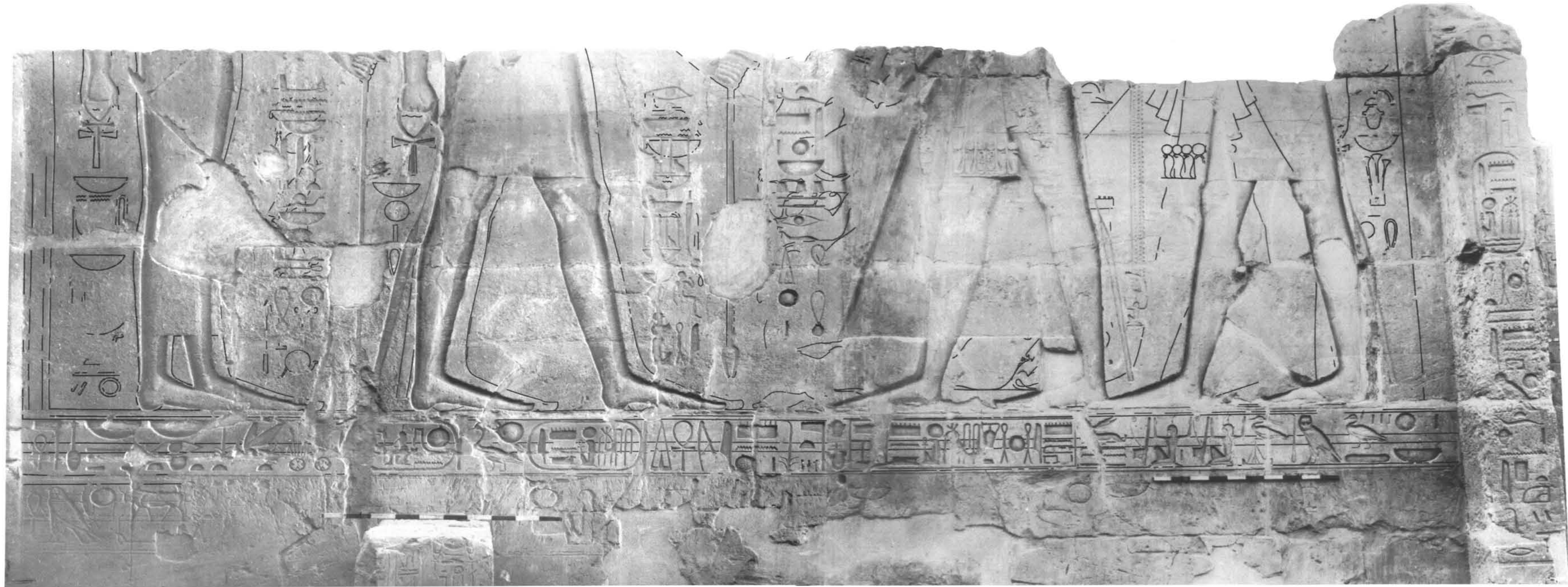
Drawing by Di Cerbo, Johnson, Olson, Rasche, and Turner

THE KING DRIVING THE FOUR CALVES BEFORE AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU
 FACADE, EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER
 (See plates 130, 133, and 137)



*Photographs by Keefe, Kobylecky, and Lanka
Drawings by Johnson and De Jong*

FRAGMENTS OF THE FACADE, EAST WALL, (A) THE SECOND AND (B) THIRD REGISTERS

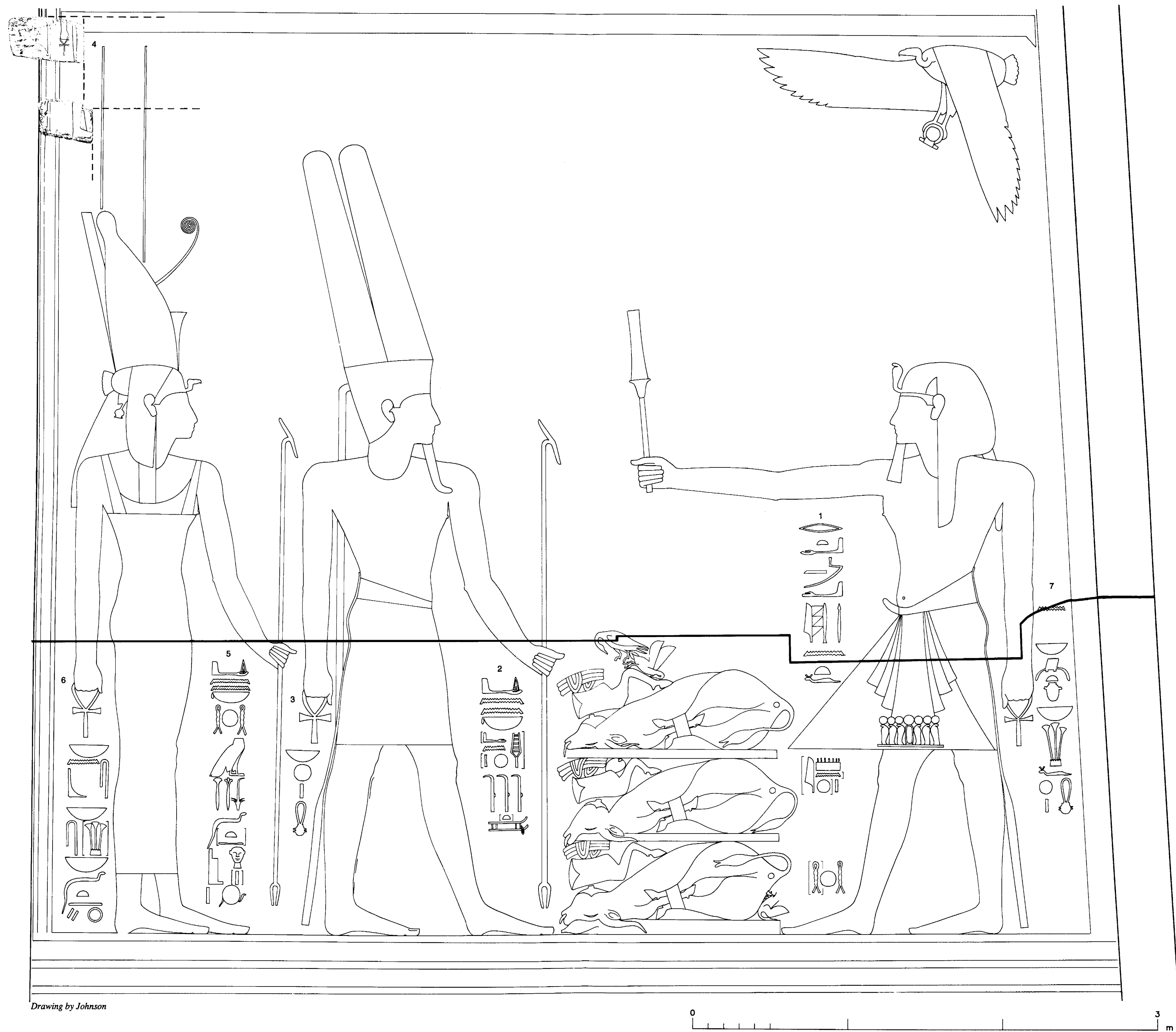


A

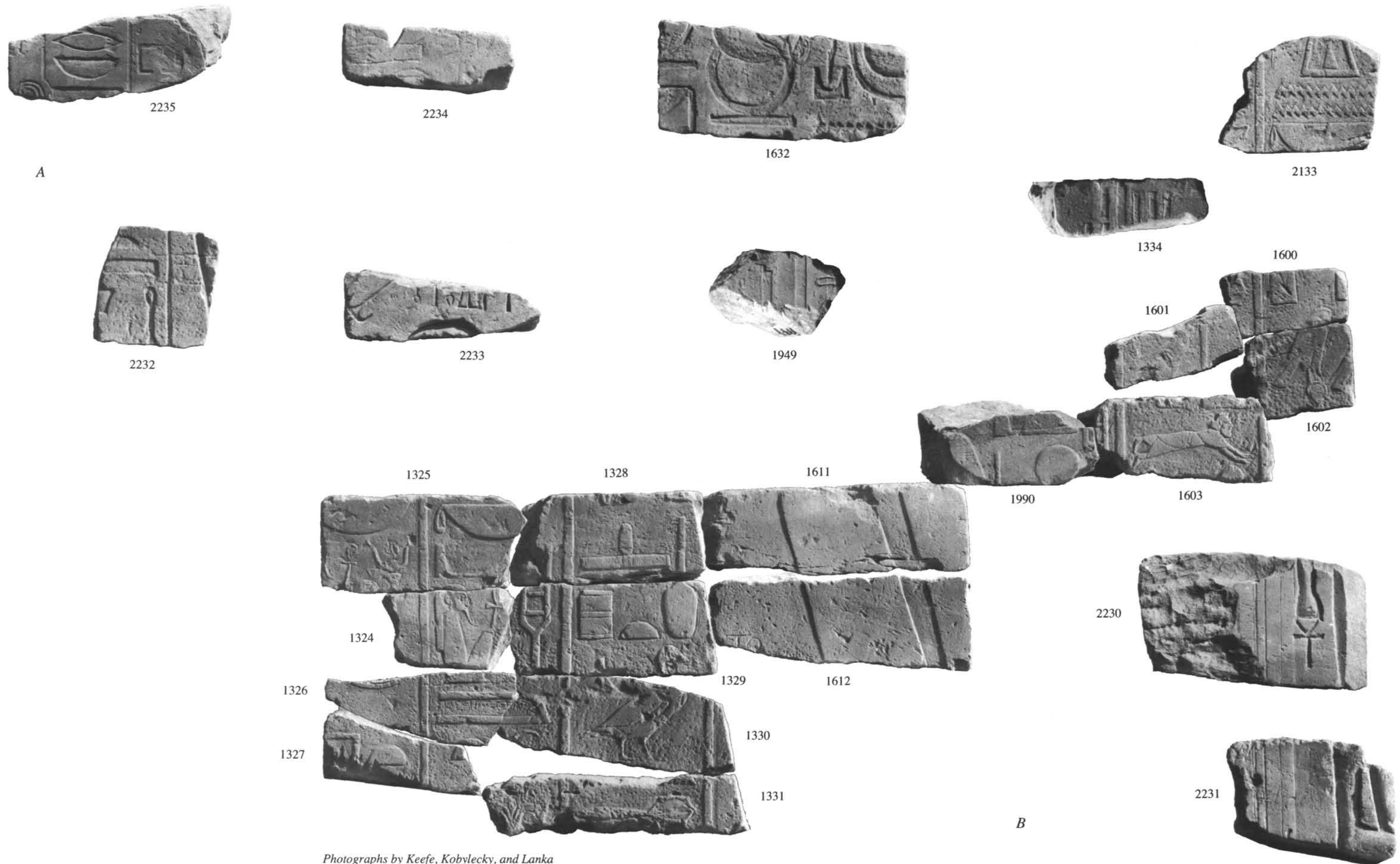


Photograph by Barrett, Kobylecky, and Turner
Drawing by Johnson

A. THE WEST WALL OF THE FACADE WITH TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION
B. TRACES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY DECORATION IN CONTEXT
(Compare plates 139 and 143)

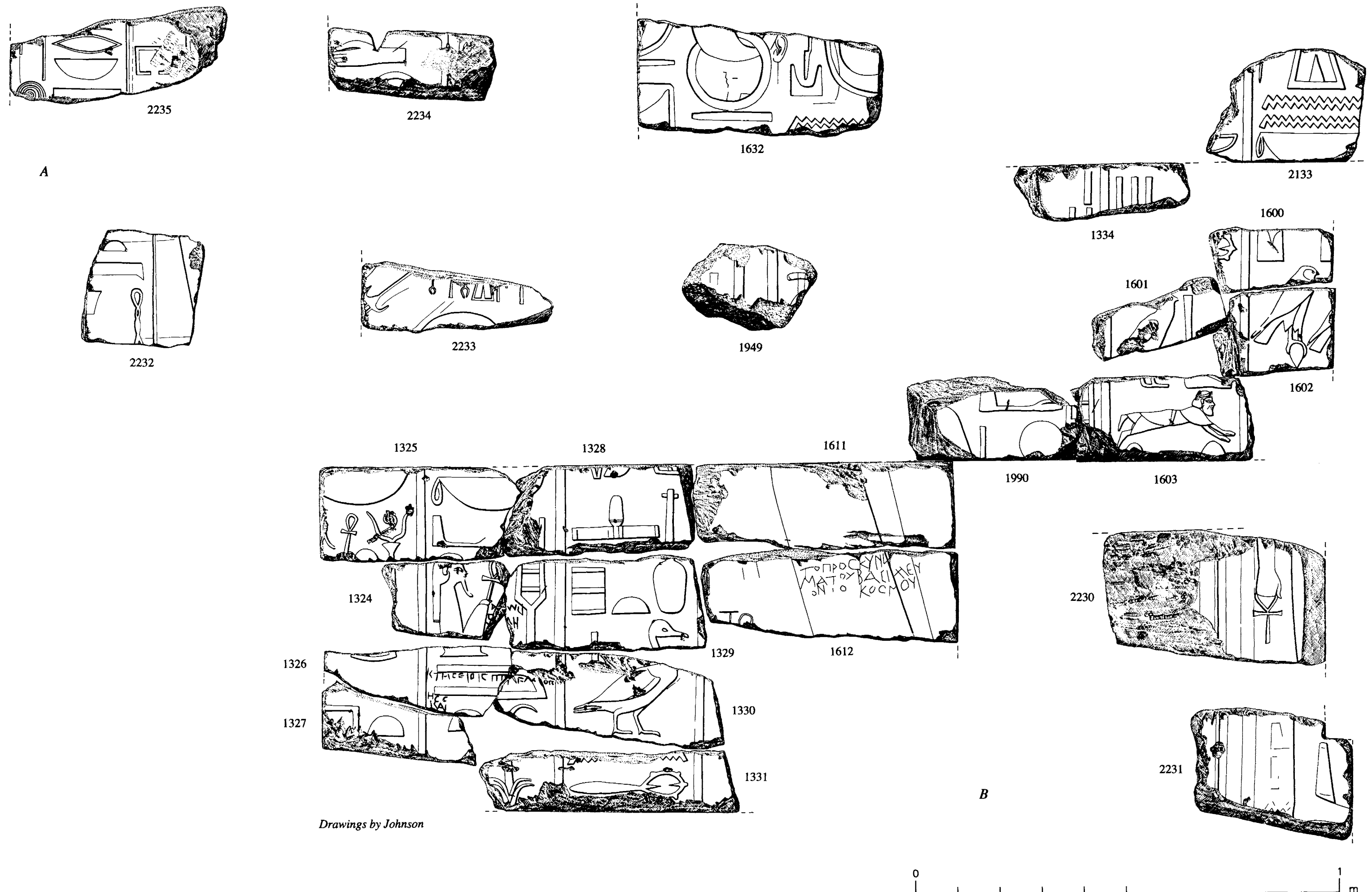


THE KING OFFERING A HECATOMB TO AMUN IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
 FACADE, WEST WALL, FIRST REGISTER
 (Compare plate 138)

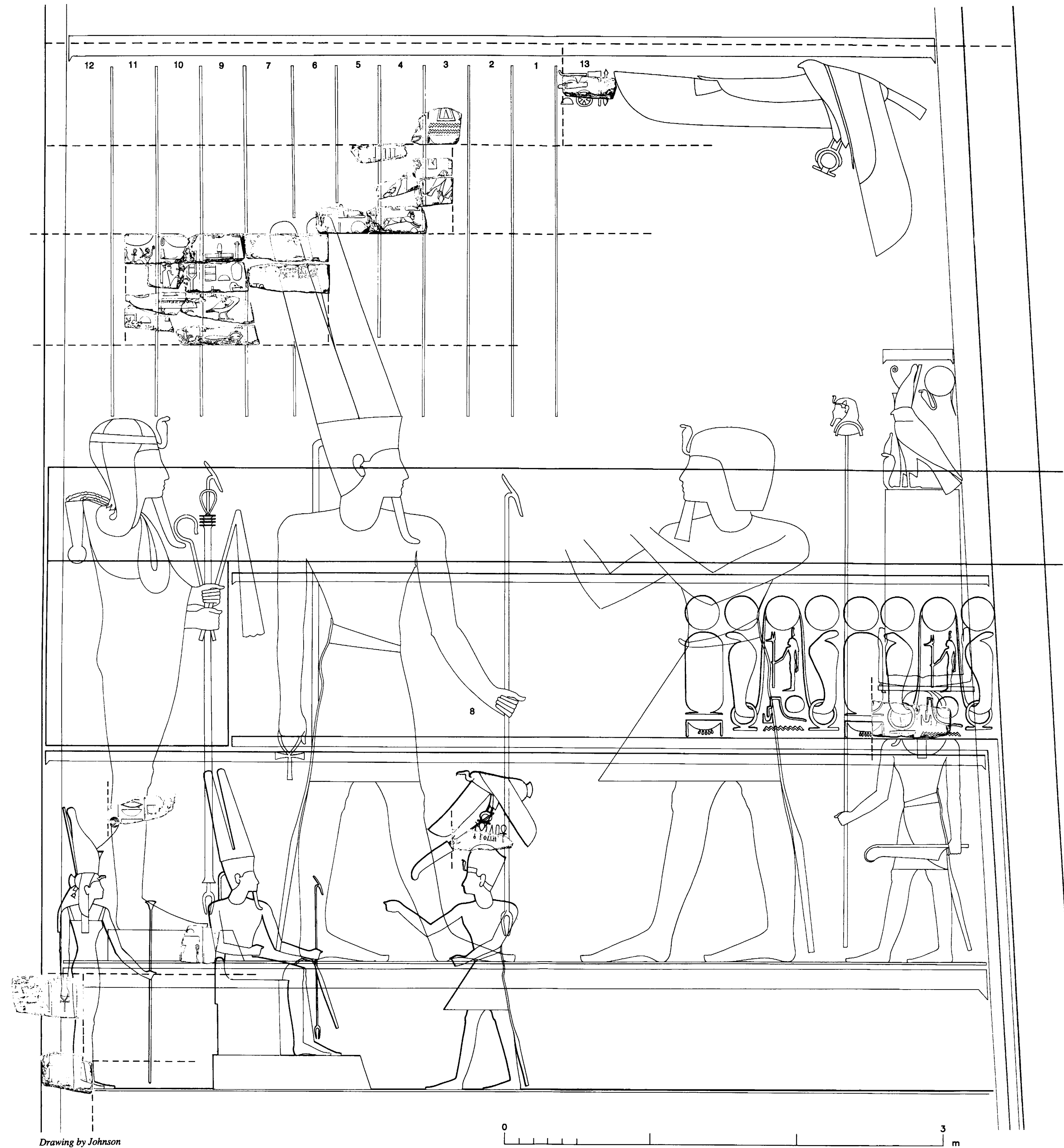


Photographs by Keefe, Kobylecky, and Lanka

FRAGMENTS OF THE FACADE, WEST WALL, (A) THE FIRST AND (B) SECOND REGISTERS
(Compare plates 139, 141, and 142)

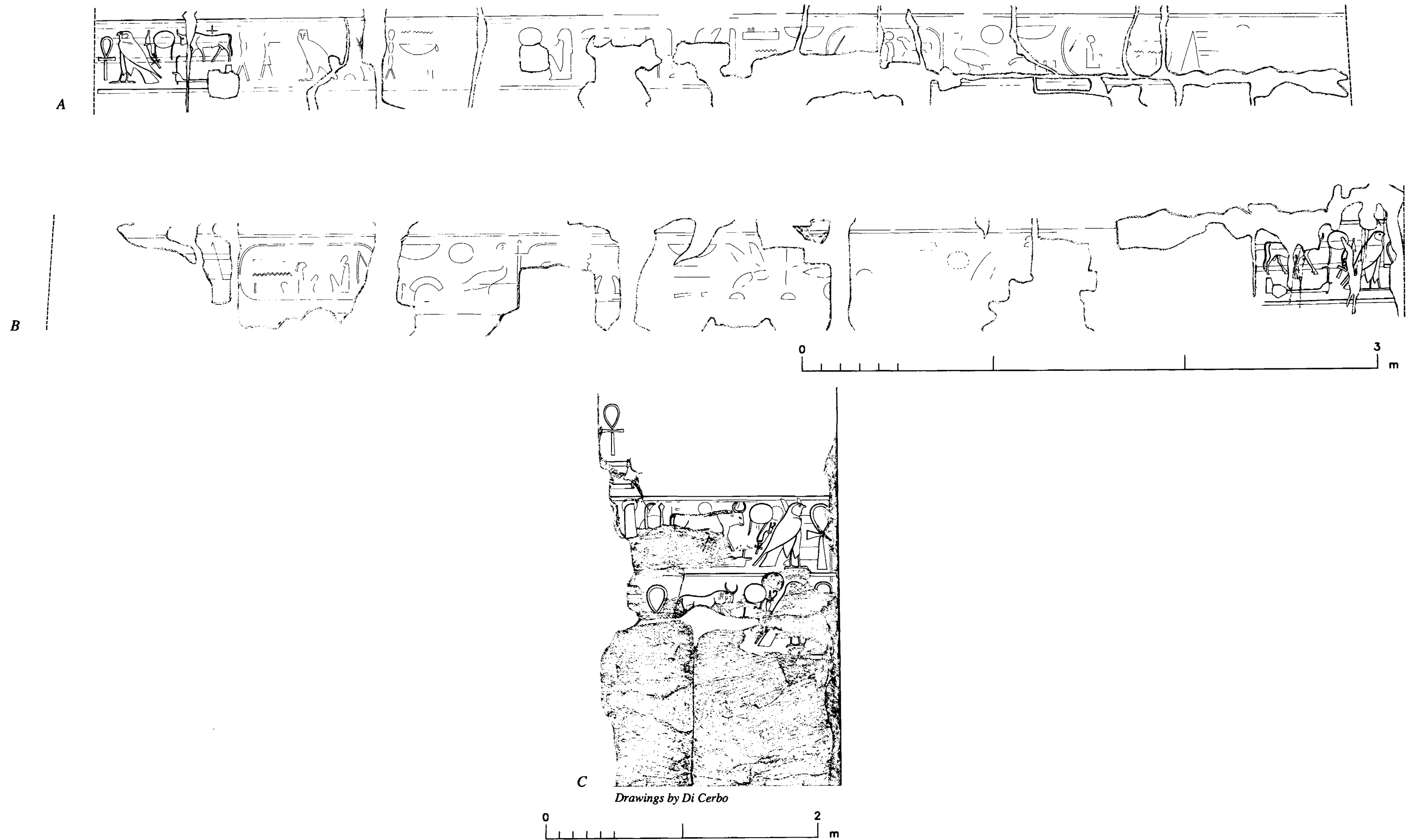


FRAGMENTS OF THE FACADE, WEST WALL, (A) THE FIRST AND (B) SECOND REGISTERS
(See plates 139, 140, and 142)

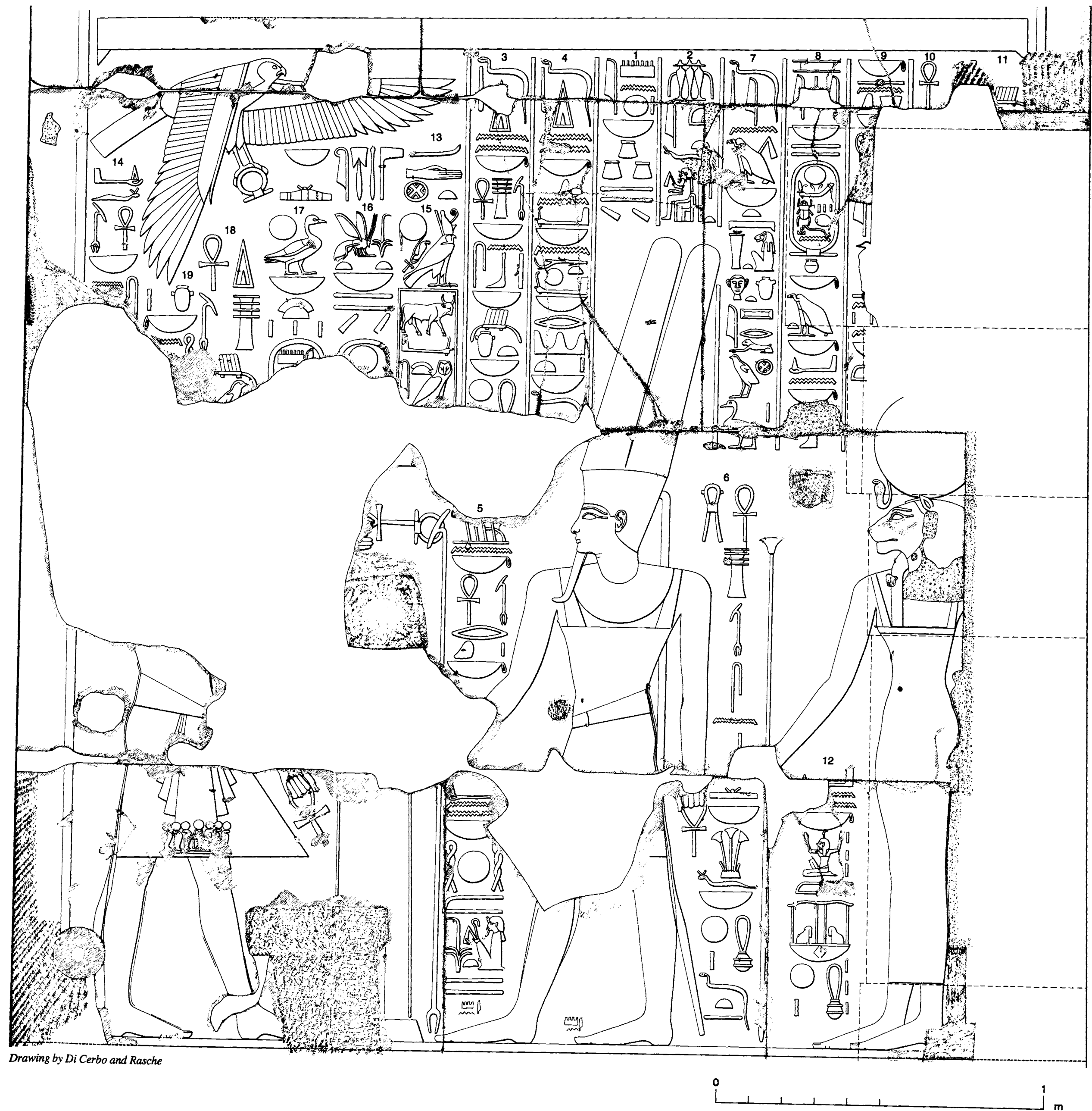


Drawing by Johnson

THE KING OFFERING BEFORE AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF KHONSU
 FACADE, WEST WALL, SECOND REGISTER
 (See plates 140 and 141)

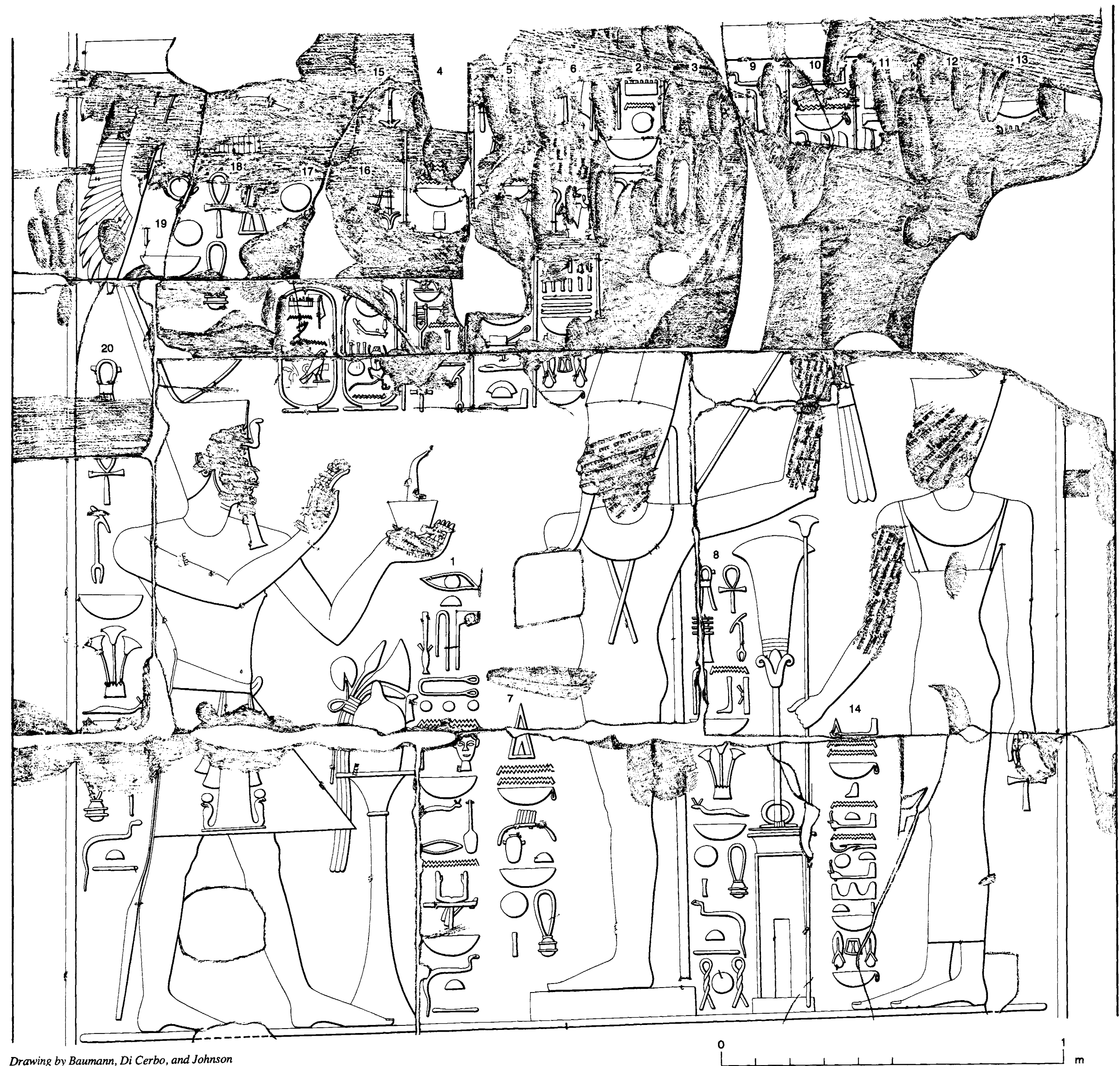


THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MERNEPTAH ON THE WEST WALL (A) AND EAST WALL (B) OF THE FACADE,
AND THE MARGINAL TEXT ON THE EAST THICKNESS OF THE NORTH PORTAL (C)
(See plates 130, 138, and 155)



Drawing by Di Cerbo and Rasche

THE KING PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT-BASTET
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER



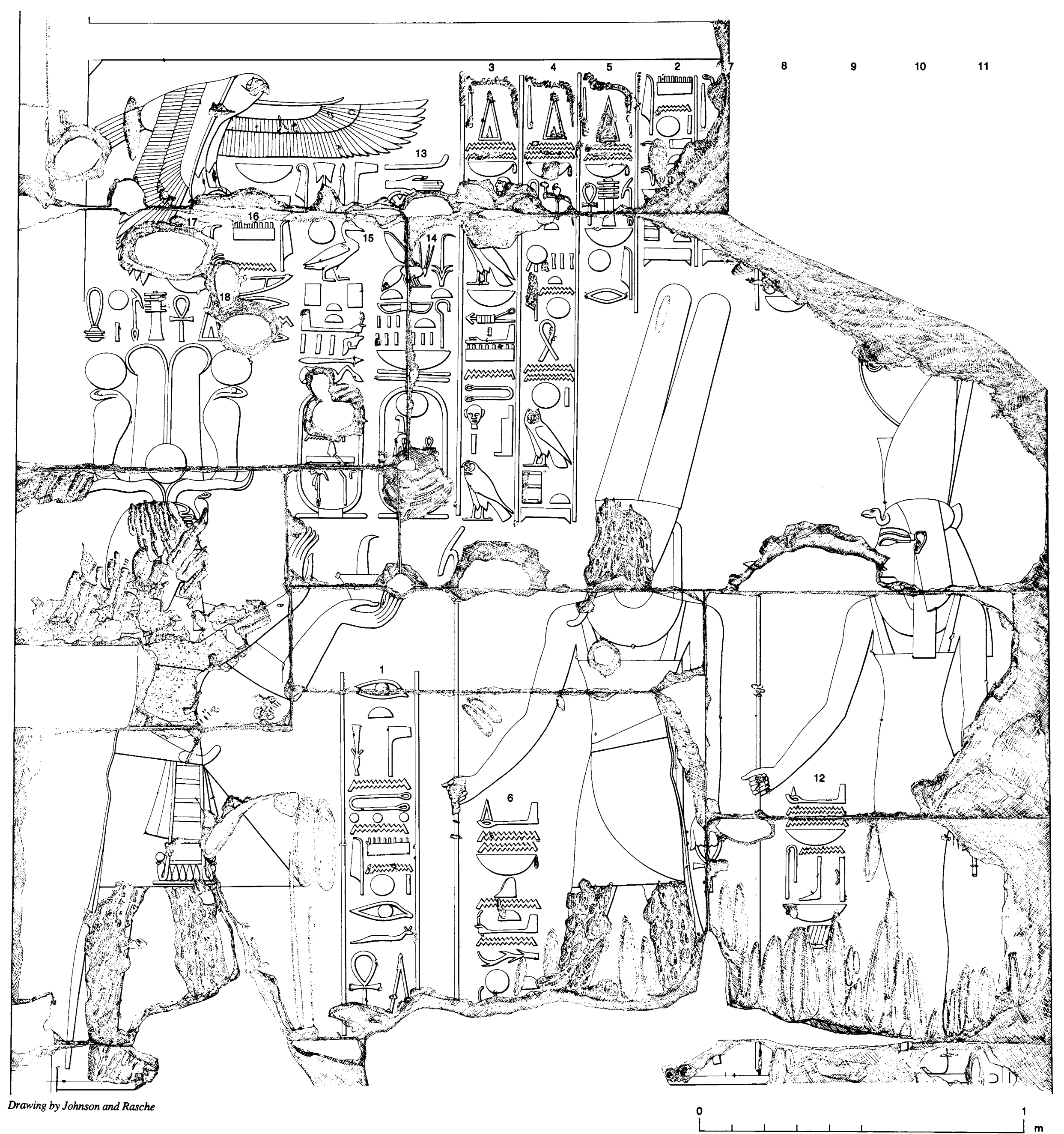
Drawing by Baumann, Di Cerbo, and Johnson

THE KING THURIFYING BEFORE AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF A GODDESS
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, SECOND REGISTER



Photograph by E. Krause

THE KING THURIFYING BEFORE AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, THIRD REGISTER
(Compare plate 147)



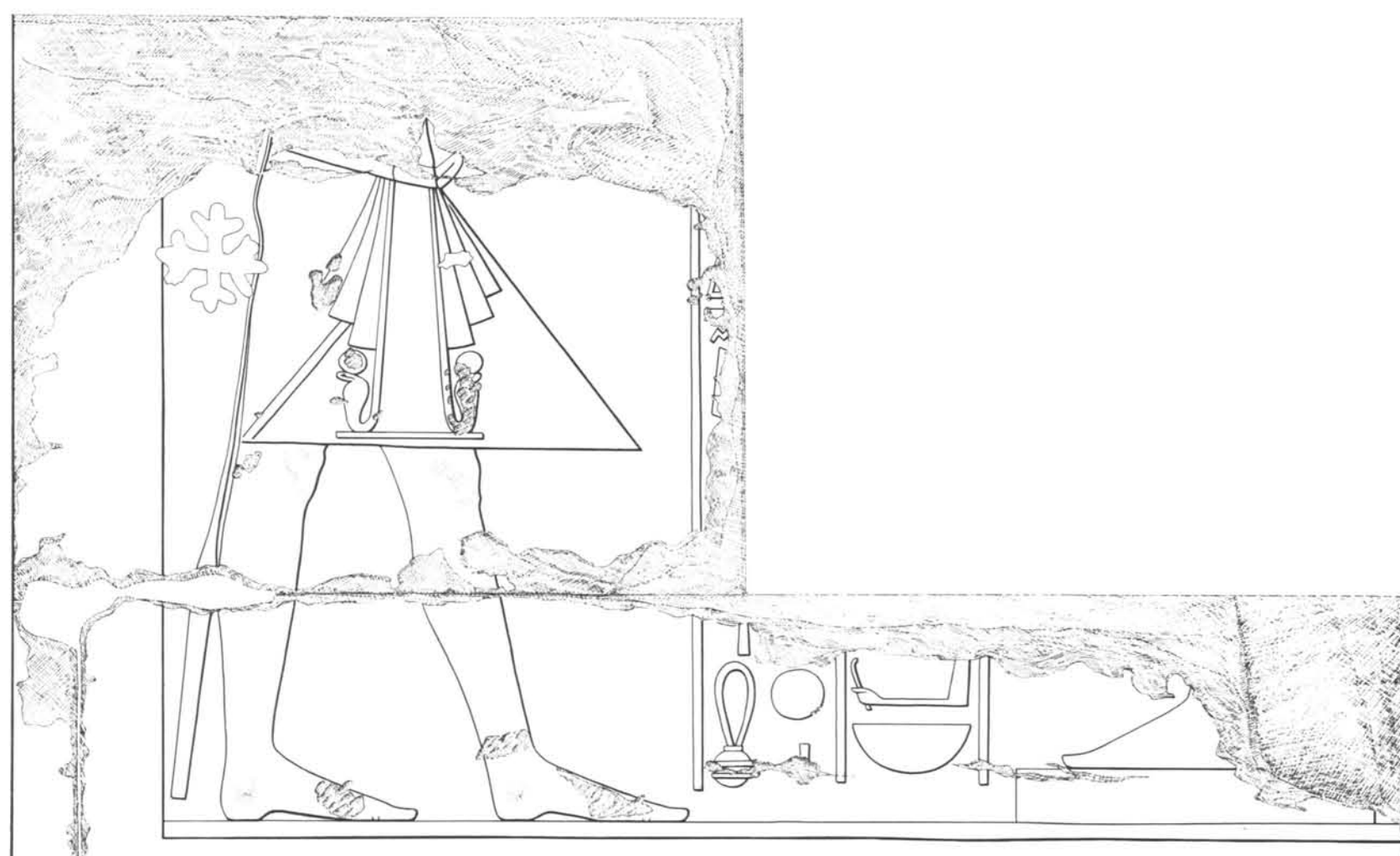
Drawing by Johnson and Rasche

THE KING THURINGYING BEFORE AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, THIRD REGISTER
(See plate 146)

A



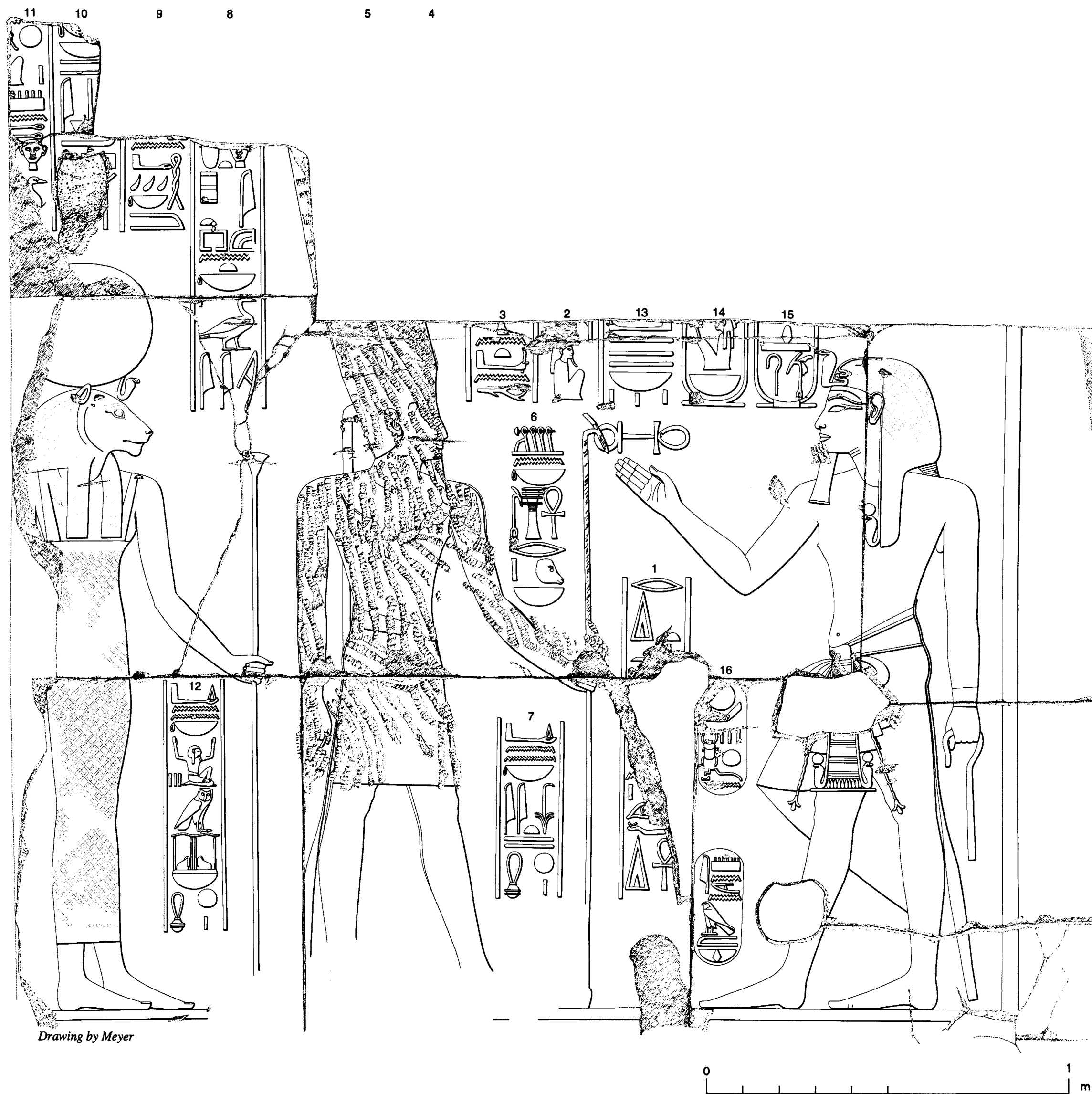
B



Photograph by E. Krause
Drawing by Johnson and Rasche

0 1 m

THE KING PERFORMING A "ROYAL OFFERING" CEREMONY BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FOURTH REGISTER



THE KING PRESENTING A DIVINE OFFERING TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF A LIONESS-HEADED GODDESS
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER

1917



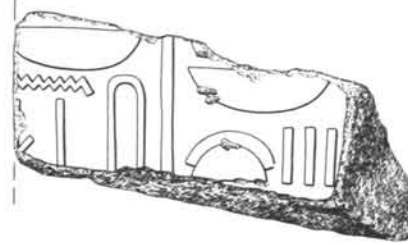
1917



1918



1918

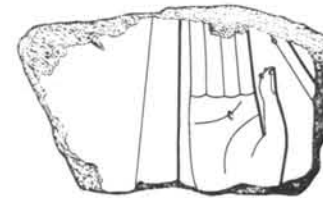


A

1970



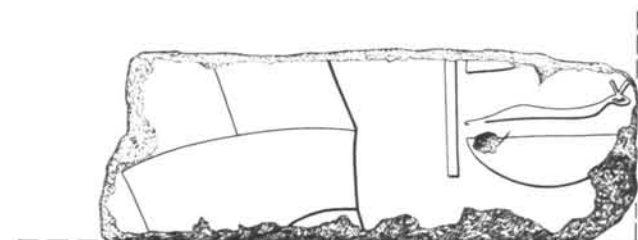
1970



2066



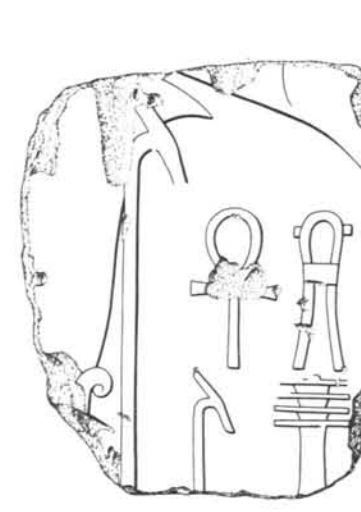
2066



2217



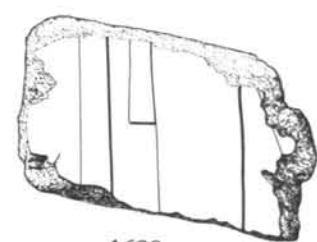
2217



1690



1690



B

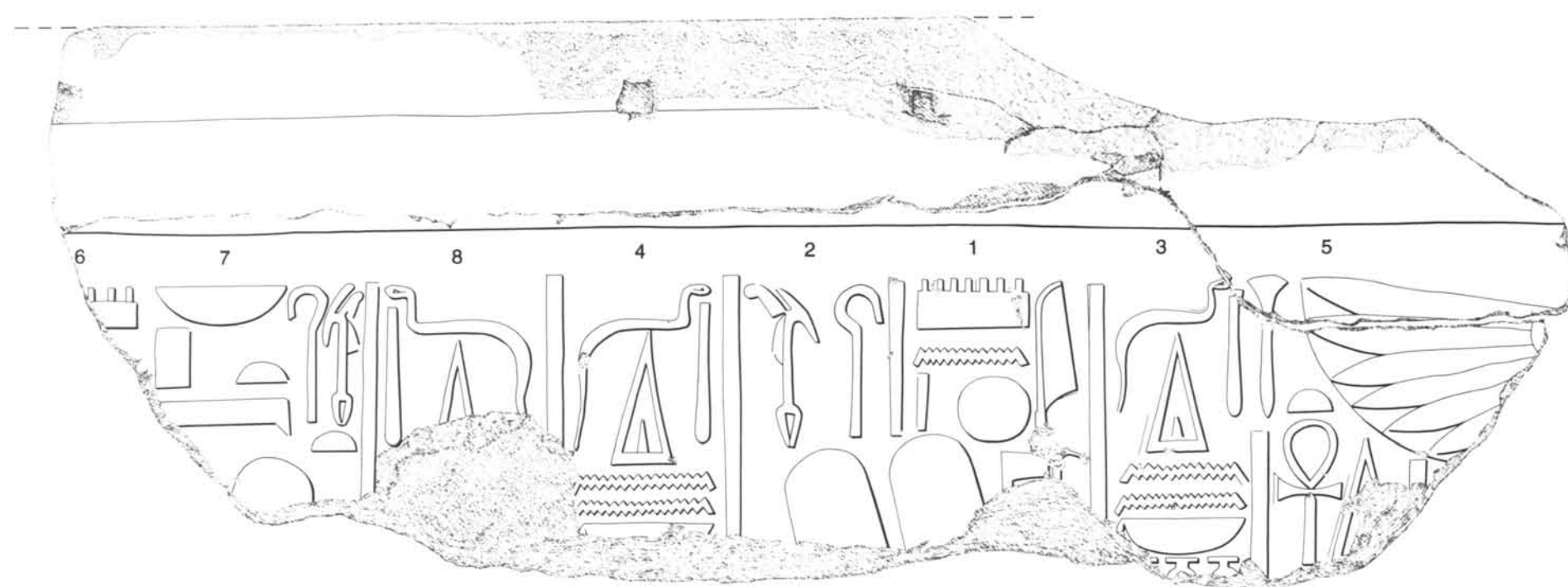
Photographs by Keefe and Lanka
Drawings by De Jong



FRAGMENTS OF THE NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, (A) THE SECOND AND (B) FOURTH REGISTERS



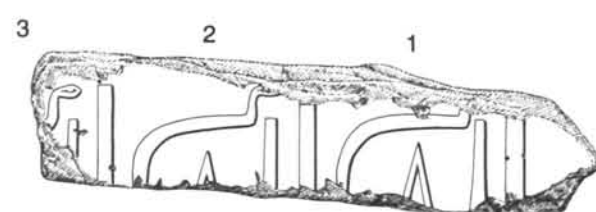
112A



112A



60



60

Photographs by Kobylecky and K. Krause
Drawings by Heidel and Johnson



FRAGMENTS FROM ABOVE THE NORTH PORTAL



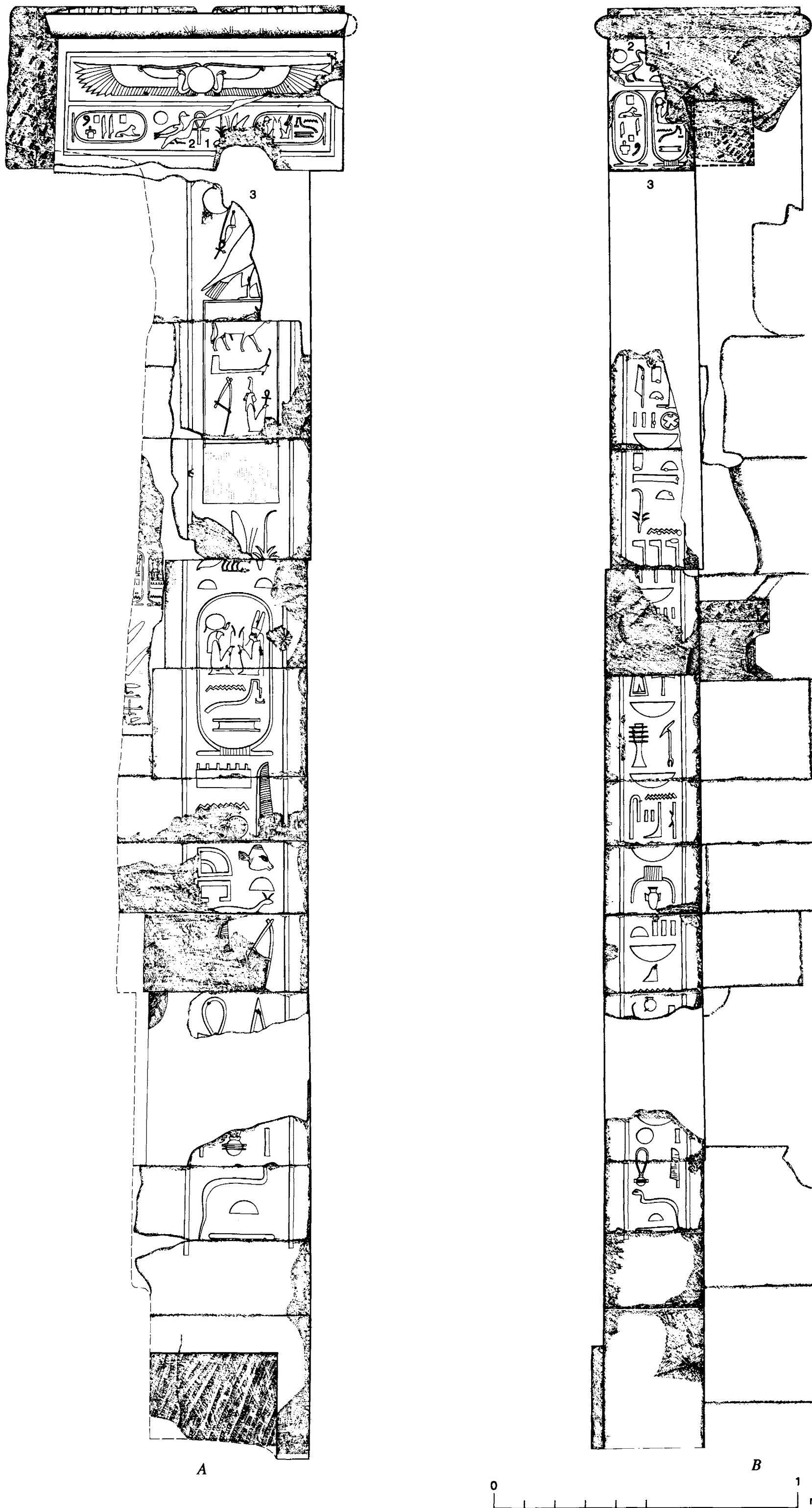
A



B

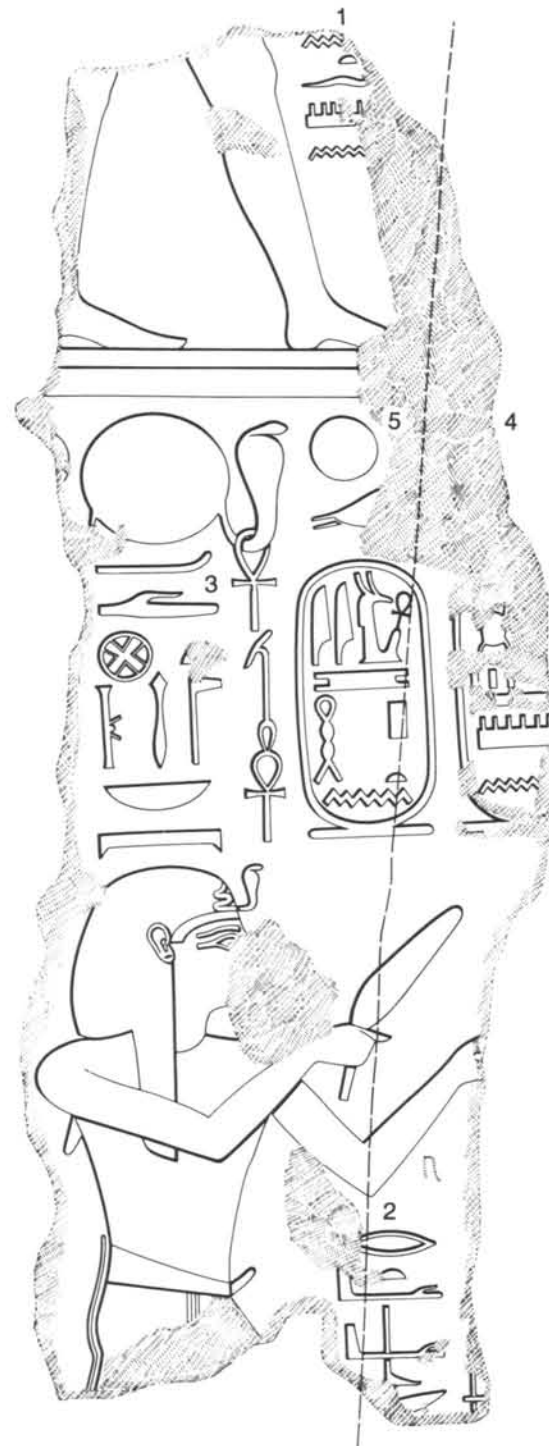
Photographs by Van Eynde

THE EAST JAMB OF THE GATEWAY OF PHILLIP ARRHIDAEUS,
(A) THE NORTH FACE AND (B) EAST THICKNESS
(Compare plate 153)



Drawings by Di Cerbo and Johnson

THE EAST JAMB OF THE GATEWAY OF PHILIP ARRHIDAEUS,
(A) THE NORTH FACE AND (B) EAST THICKNESS
(See plate 152)



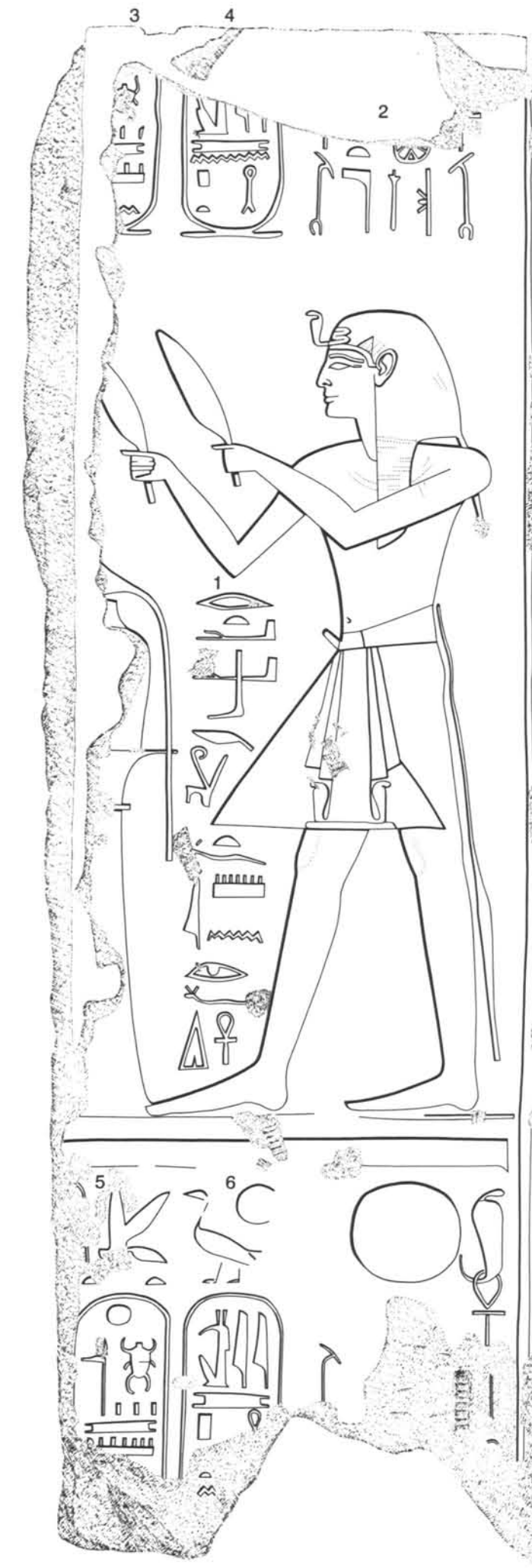
A

0 20 cm

Photograph by The Epigraphic Survey
 Drawings by Di Cerbo, Heidel, and Rasche



B



C

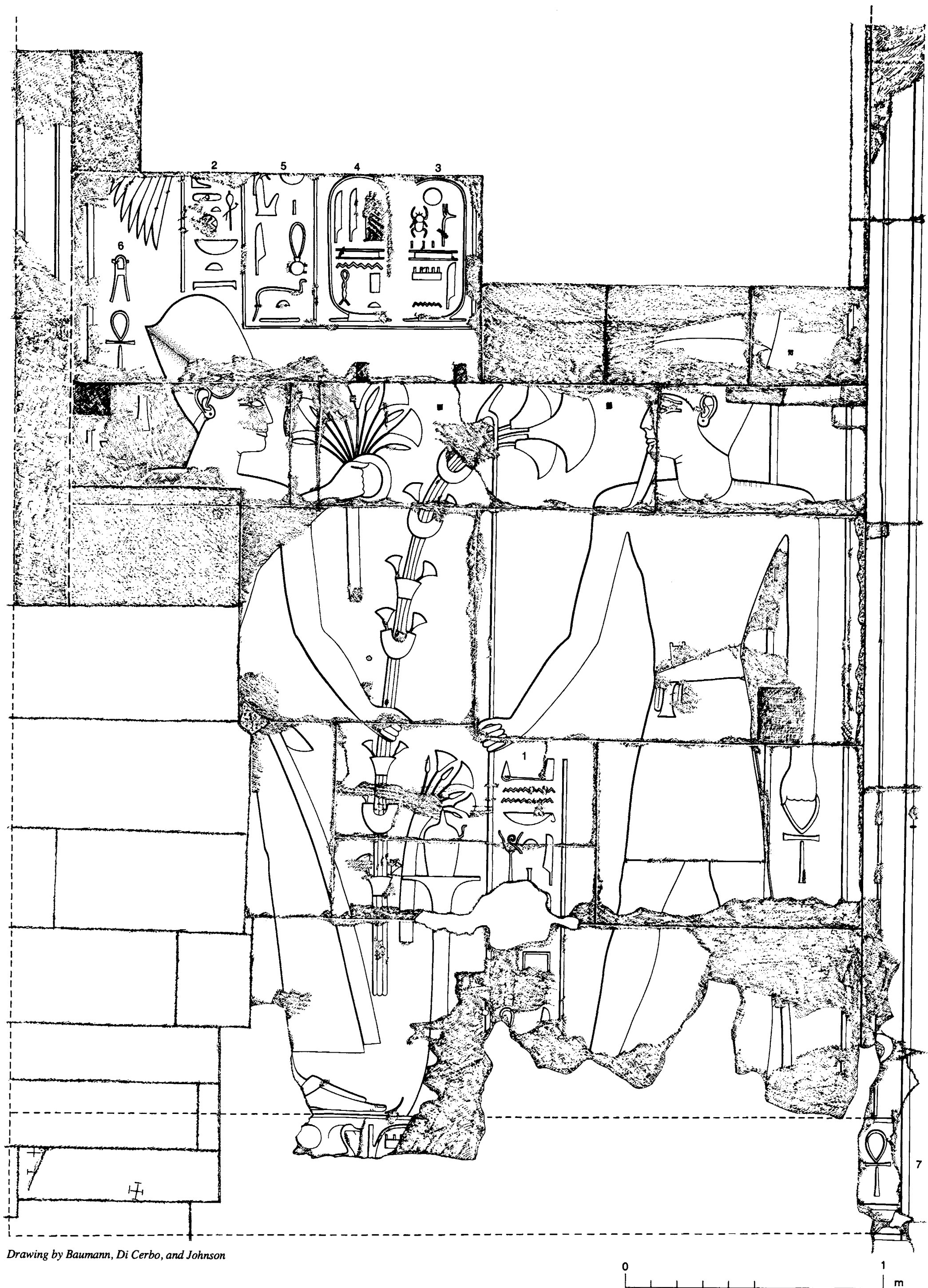
0 20 cm

FRAGMENTS OF THE RAMESSIDE GATEWAY
 A. A FRAGMENT OF THE EAST JAMB REUSED IN THE GATEWAY OF PHILIP ARRHIDAEUS
 B-C. A FRAGMENT OF THE WEST JAMB



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE KING PRESENTING FLOWERS TO AMUN
 NORTH PORTAL, EAST THICKNESS
(Compare plates 143C and 156)



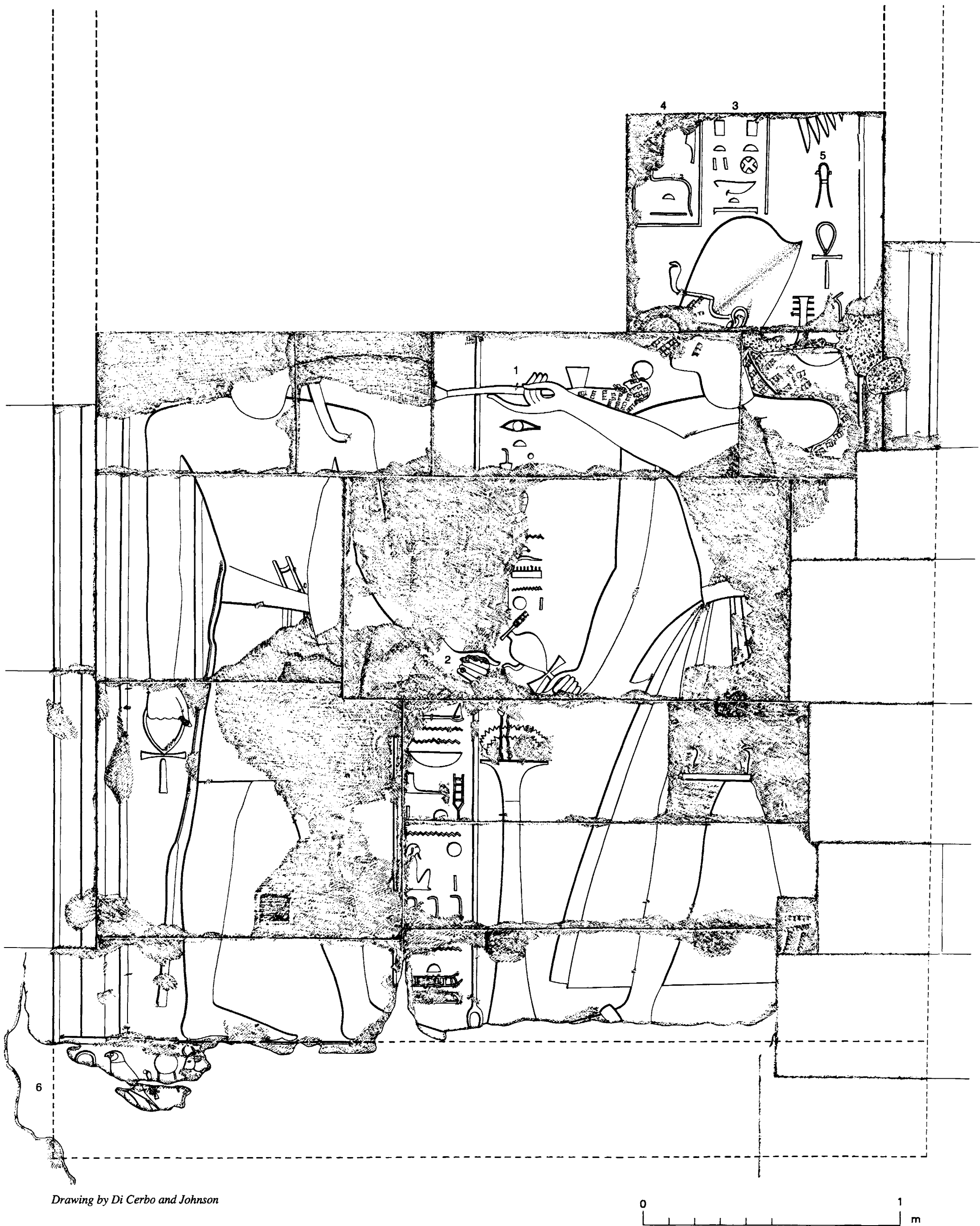
Drawing by Baumann, Di Cerbo, and Johnson

THE KING PRESENTING FLOWERS TO AMUN
NORTH PORTAL, EAST THICKNESS
(See plate 155)



Photograph by Van Eynde

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE
NORTH PORTAL, WEST THICKNESS
(Compare plate 158)



THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE
NORTH PORTAL, WEST THICKNESS
(See plate 157)



108 OBVERSE



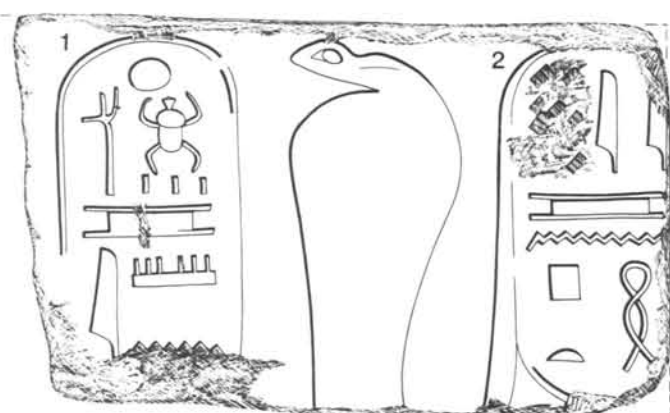
108 REVERSE



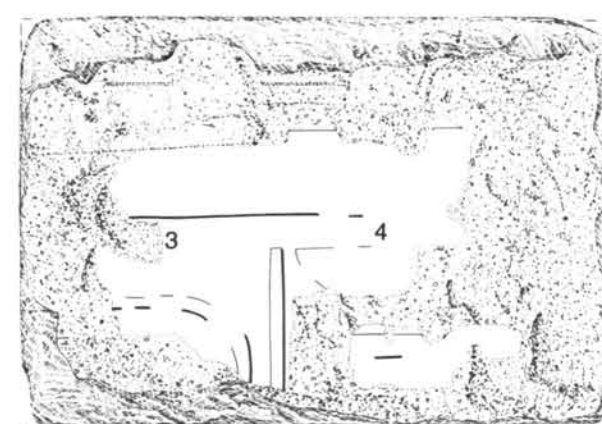
109



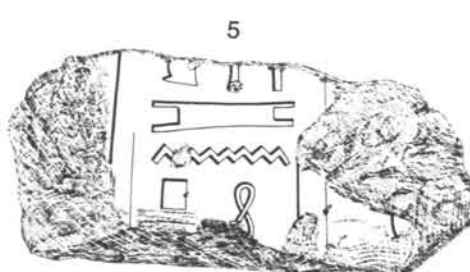
2229



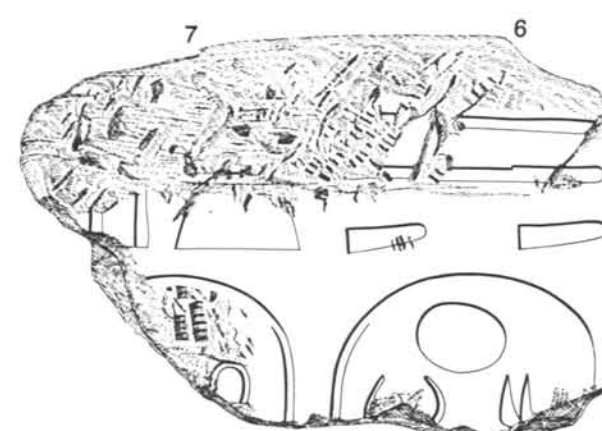
108 OBVERSE



108 REVERSE



109



2229

Photographs by Kobylecky and E. Krause
Drawings by Di Cerbo

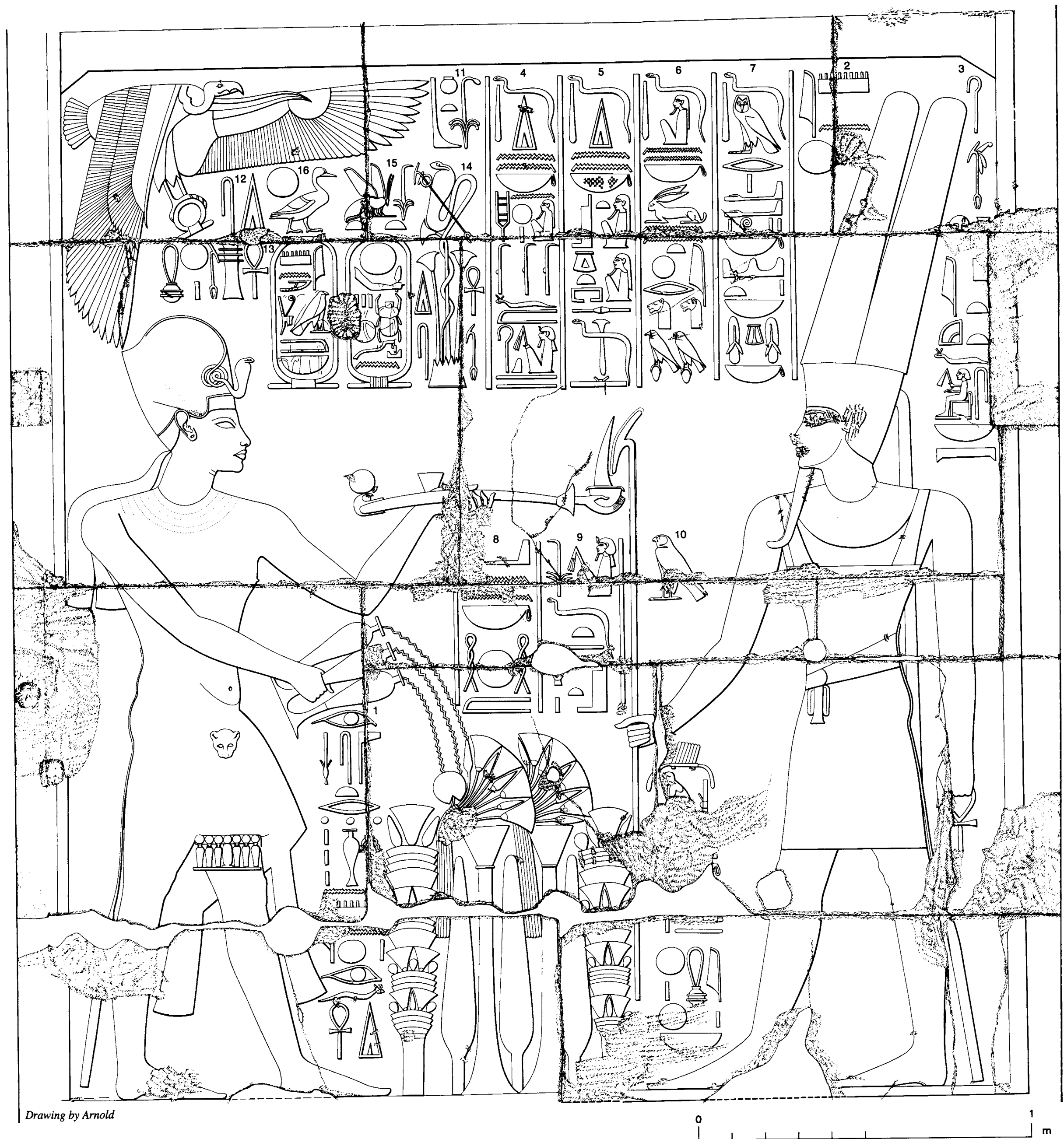


FRAGMENTS OF THE DECORATED CLADDING OF THE THICKNESSES OF THE NORTH PORTAL



Photograph by Koch

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER
(Compare plate 161)



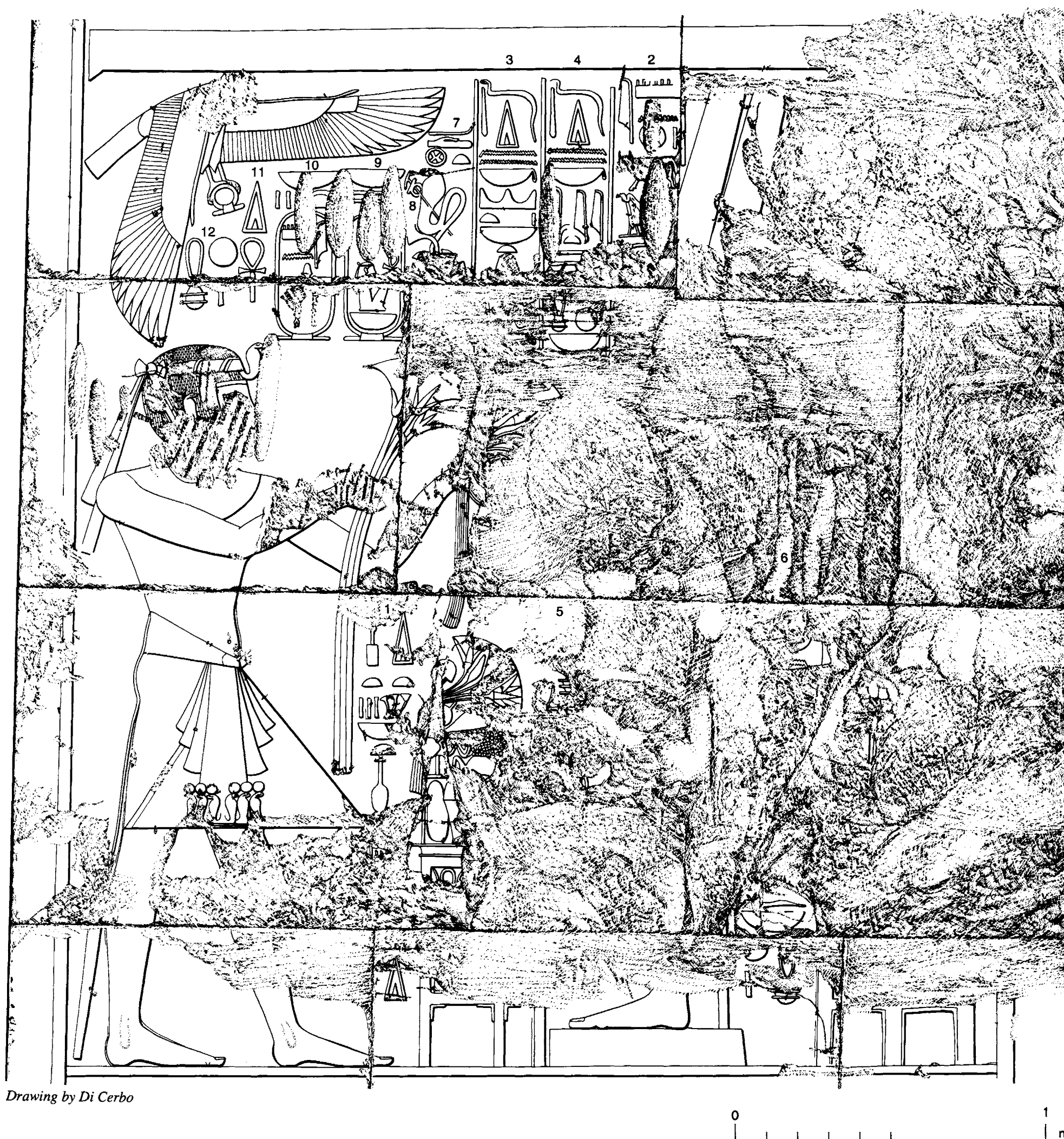
Drawing by Arnold

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER
(See plate 160)



Photograph by Lanka

THE KING OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, SECOND REGISTER
(Compare plate 163)



Drawing by Di Cerbo

THE KING OFFERING BOUQUETS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, SECOND REGISTER
(See plate 162)

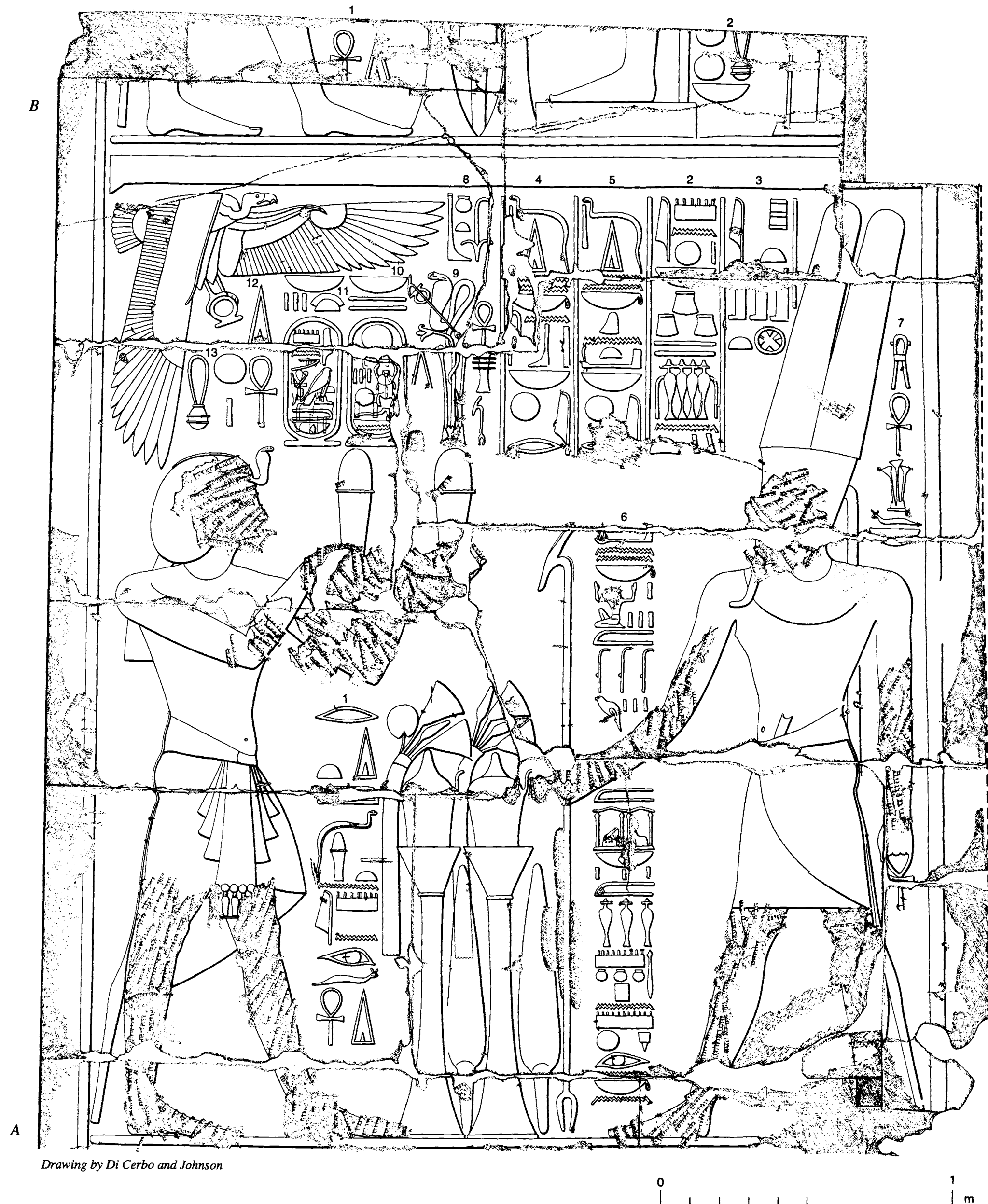
B



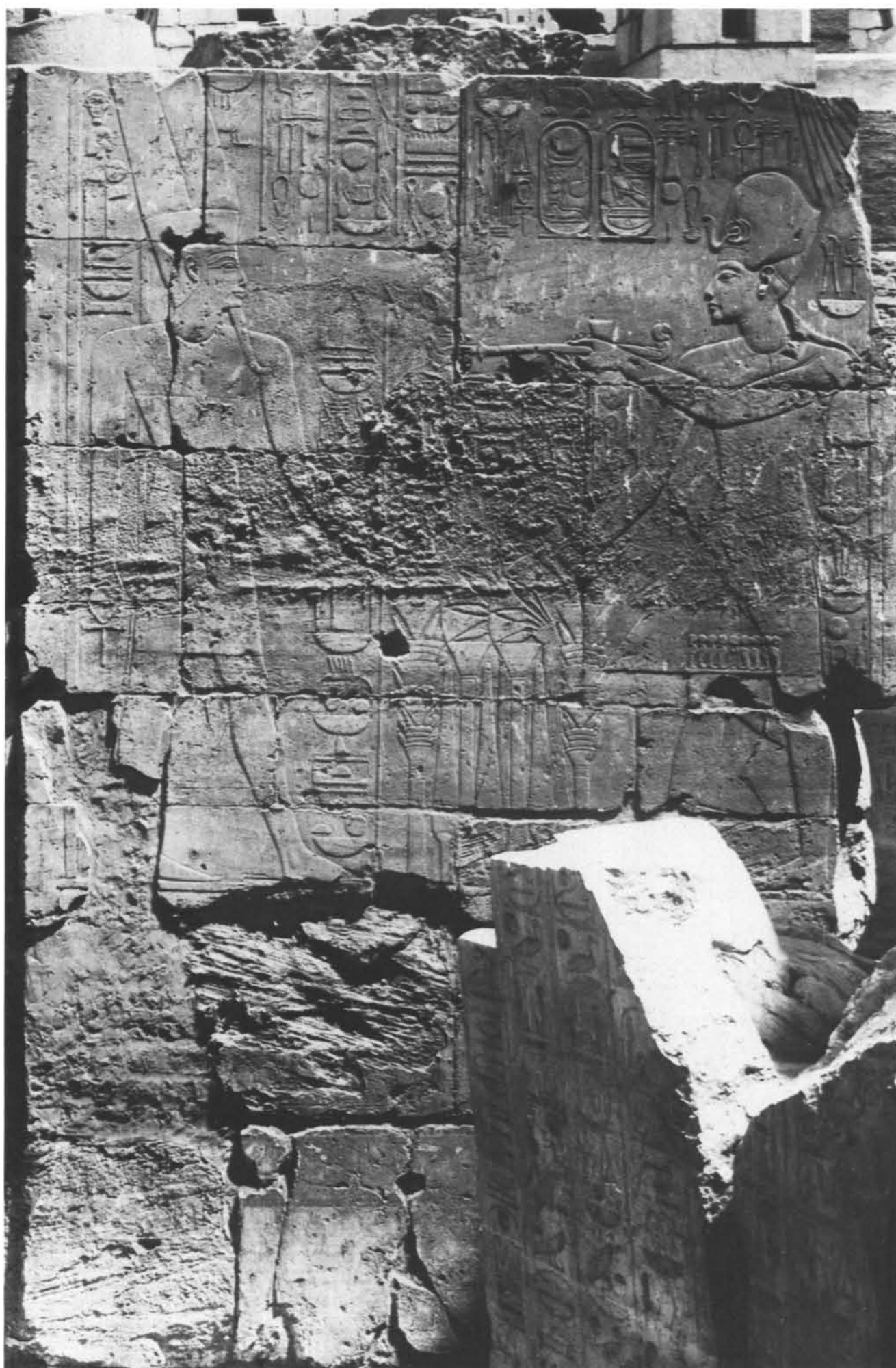
A

Photograph by Lanka

THE KING (A) OFFERING OINTMENT BEFORE AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING TO AMUN-RE
 NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, THIRD AND FOURTH REGISTERS
 (Compare plate 165)

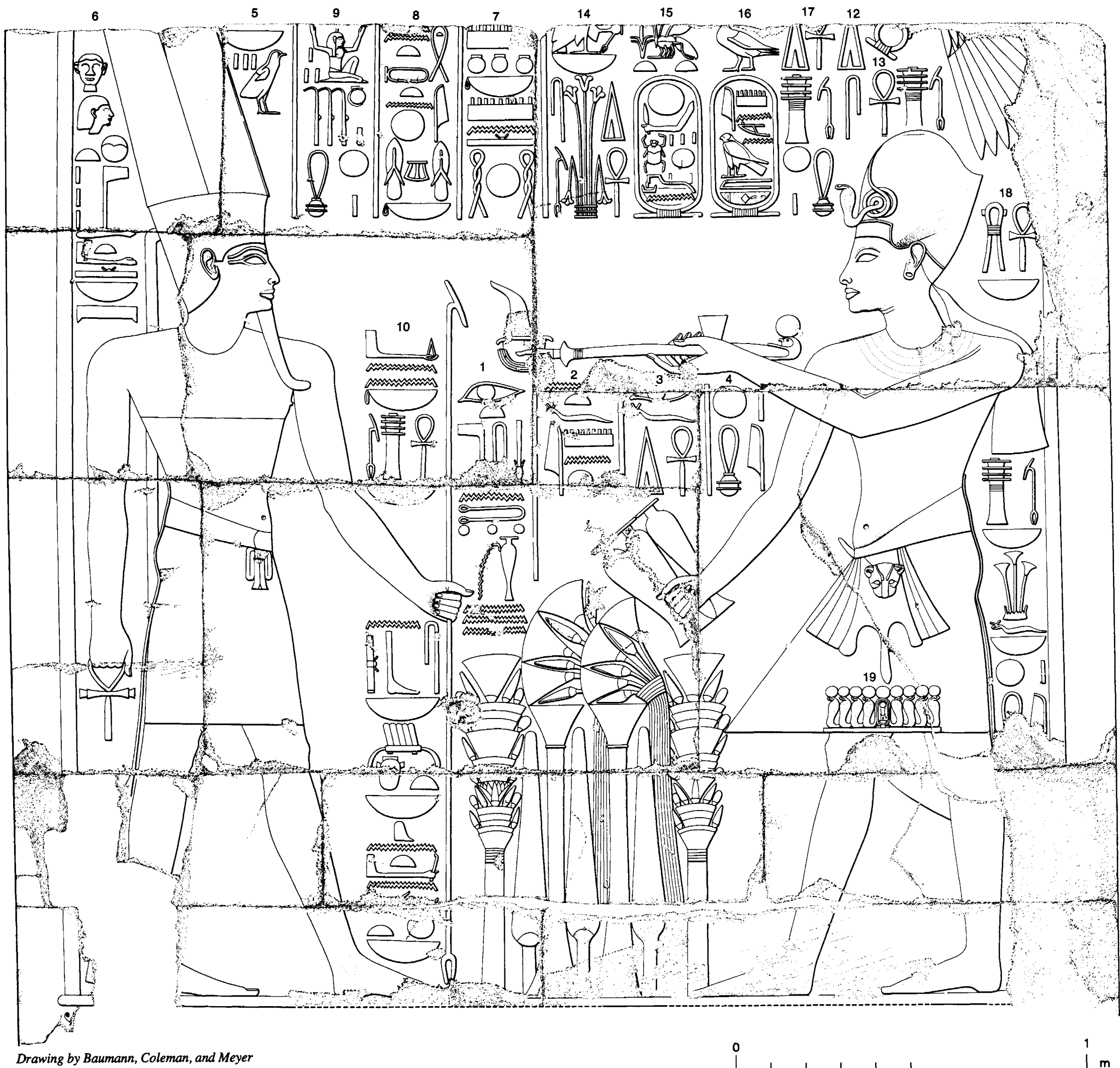


THE KING (A) OFFERING OINTMENT BEFORE AMUN-RE AND (B) OFFERING TO AMUN-RE
 NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, THIRD AND FOURTH REGISTERS
 (See plate 164)



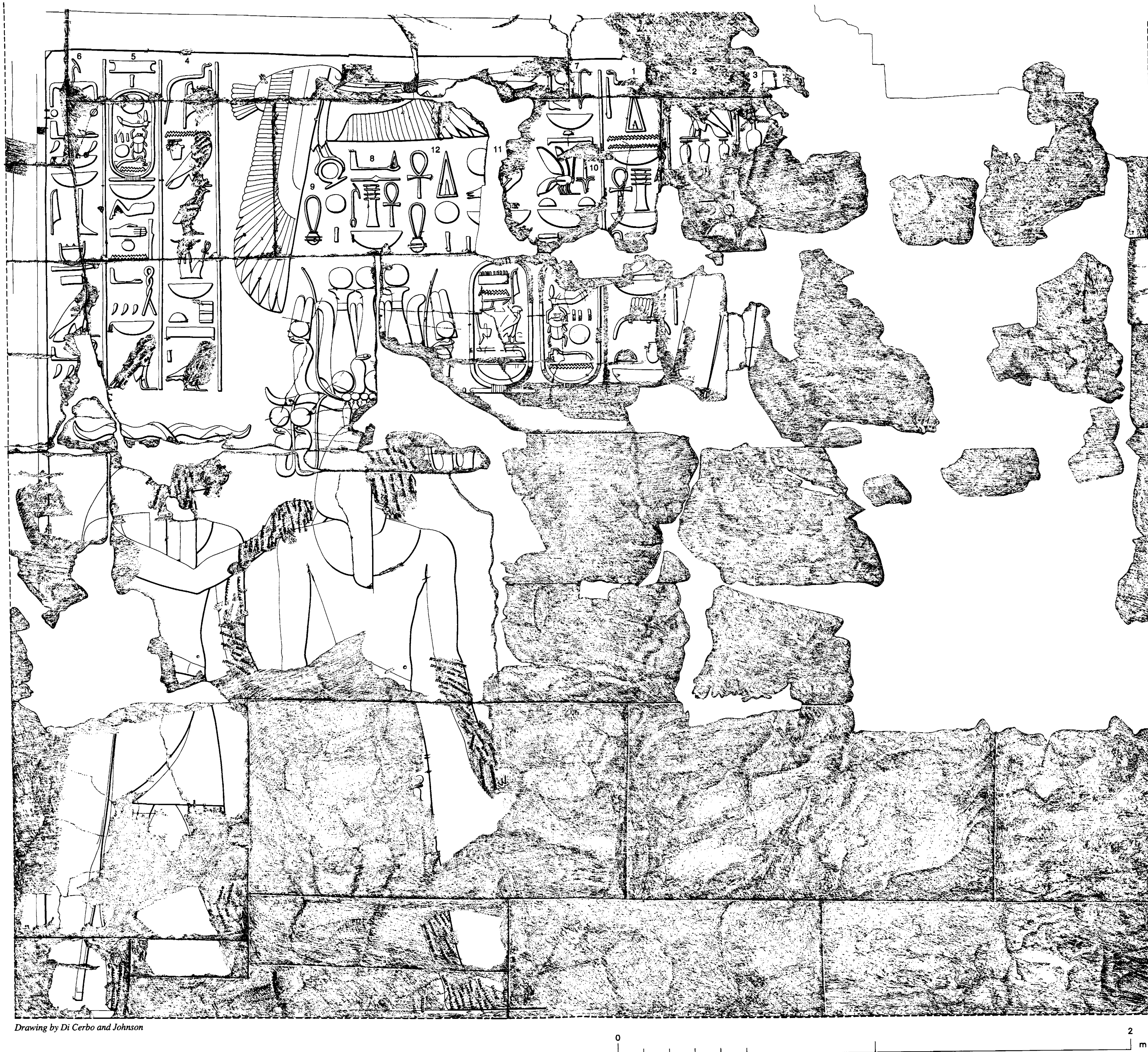
Photograph by Koch

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER
(Compare plate 167)



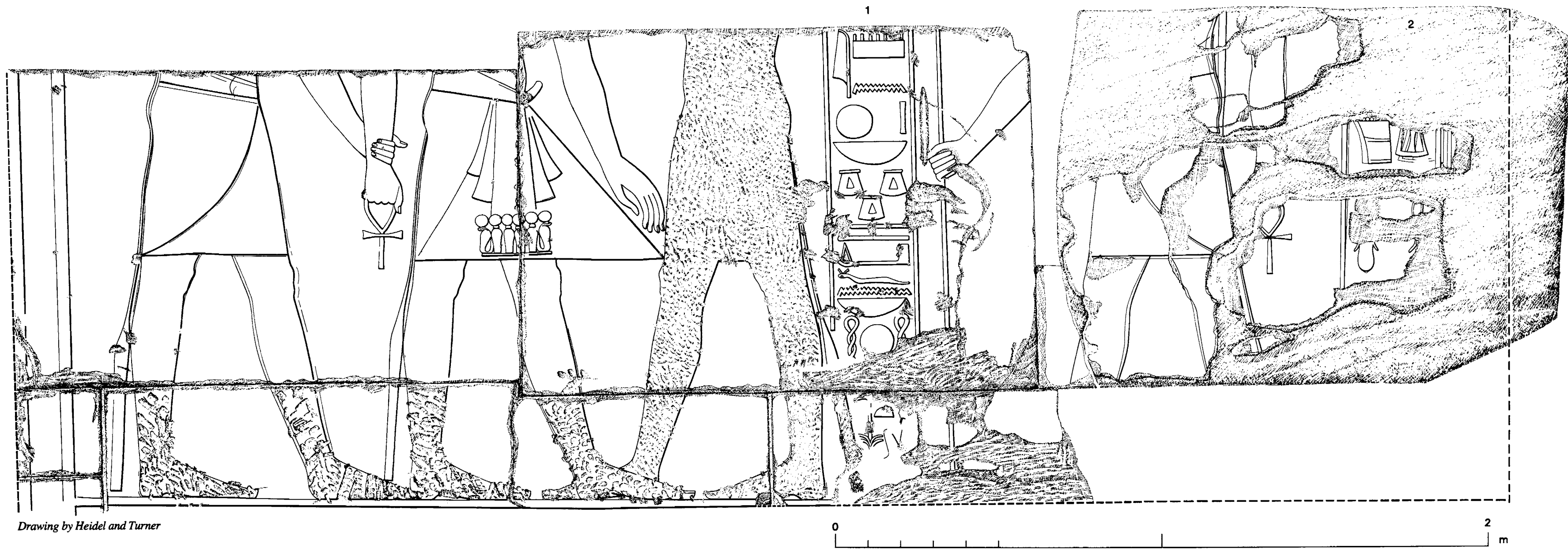
Drawing by Baumann, Coleman, and Meyer

THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE
 NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER
 (See plate 166)



Drawing by Di Cerbo and Johnson

KHNUM USHERING THE KING INTO THE PRESENCE OF AMUN AND A NOW MISSING GODDESS
INTERIOR NORTH WALL, EAST SIDE, SECOND REGISTER



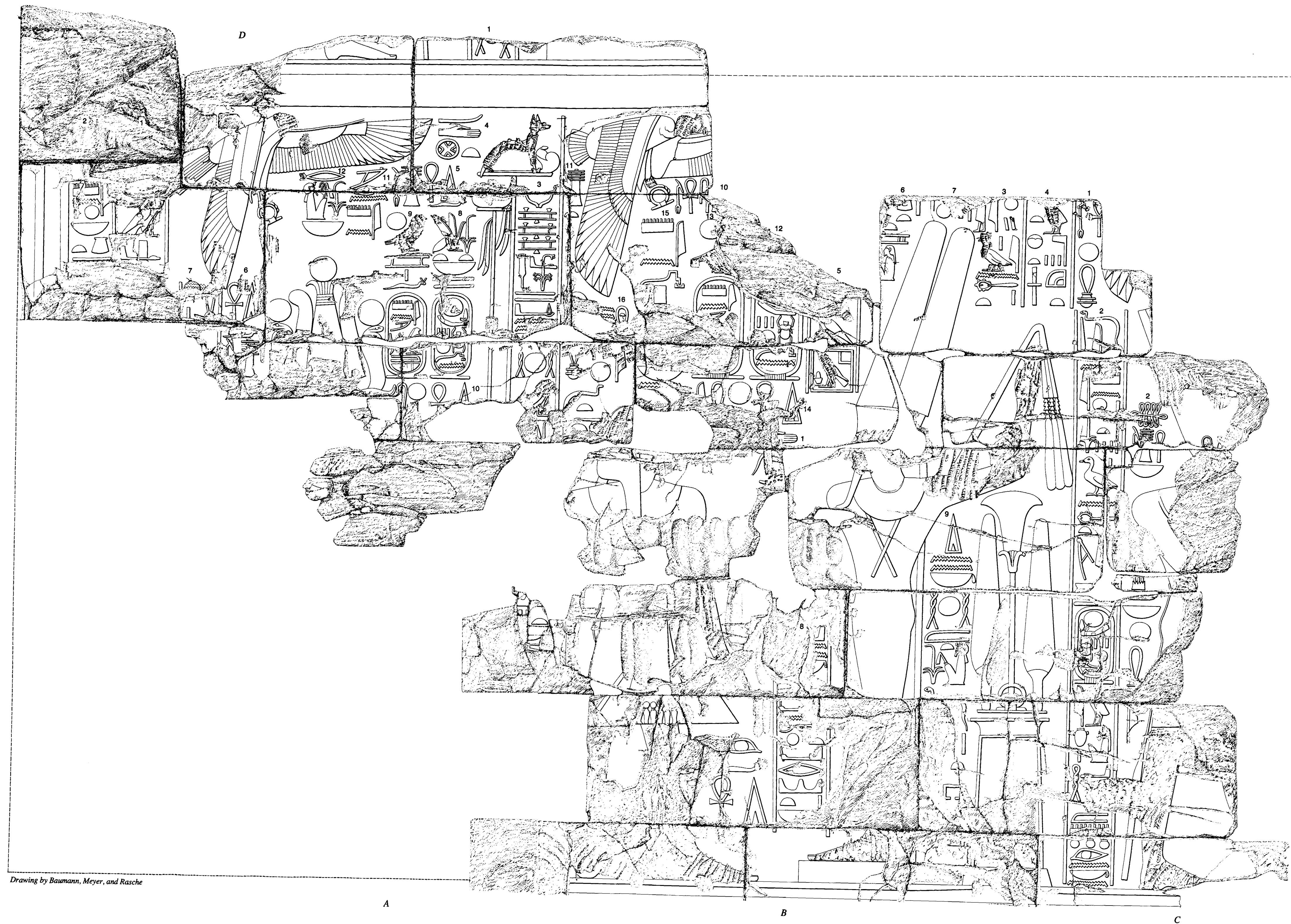
HORUS AND SETH CROWNING(?) THE KING IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUN-RE
INTERIOR NORTH WALL, EAST SIDE, THIRD REGISTER



Photograph by Turner

THE KING (A) LEAVING THE PALACE, (B) ADORING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, AND (C) OFFERING
INTERIOR EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER, FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD SCENES FROM NORTH

D. THE KING BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
INTERIOR EAST WALL, THIRD REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM NORTH
(Compare plate 171)



Drawing by Baumann, Meyer, and Rasche

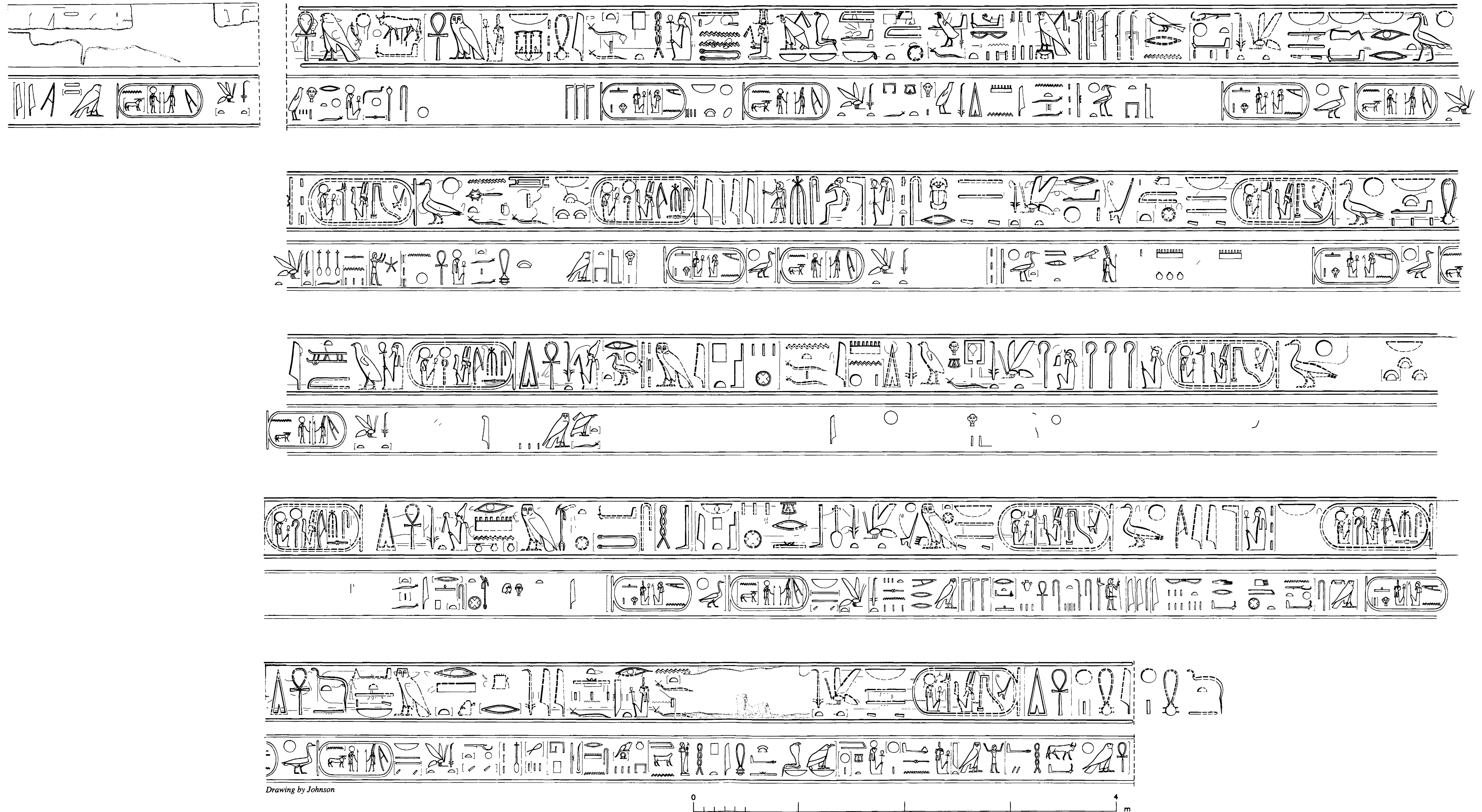
THE KING (A) LEAVING THE PALACE, (B) ADORING ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, AND (C) OFFERING
INTERIOR EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER, FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD SCENES FROM NORTH

D. THE KING BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
INTERIOR EAST WALL, THIRD REGISTER, FIRST SCENE FROM NORTH
(See plate 170)

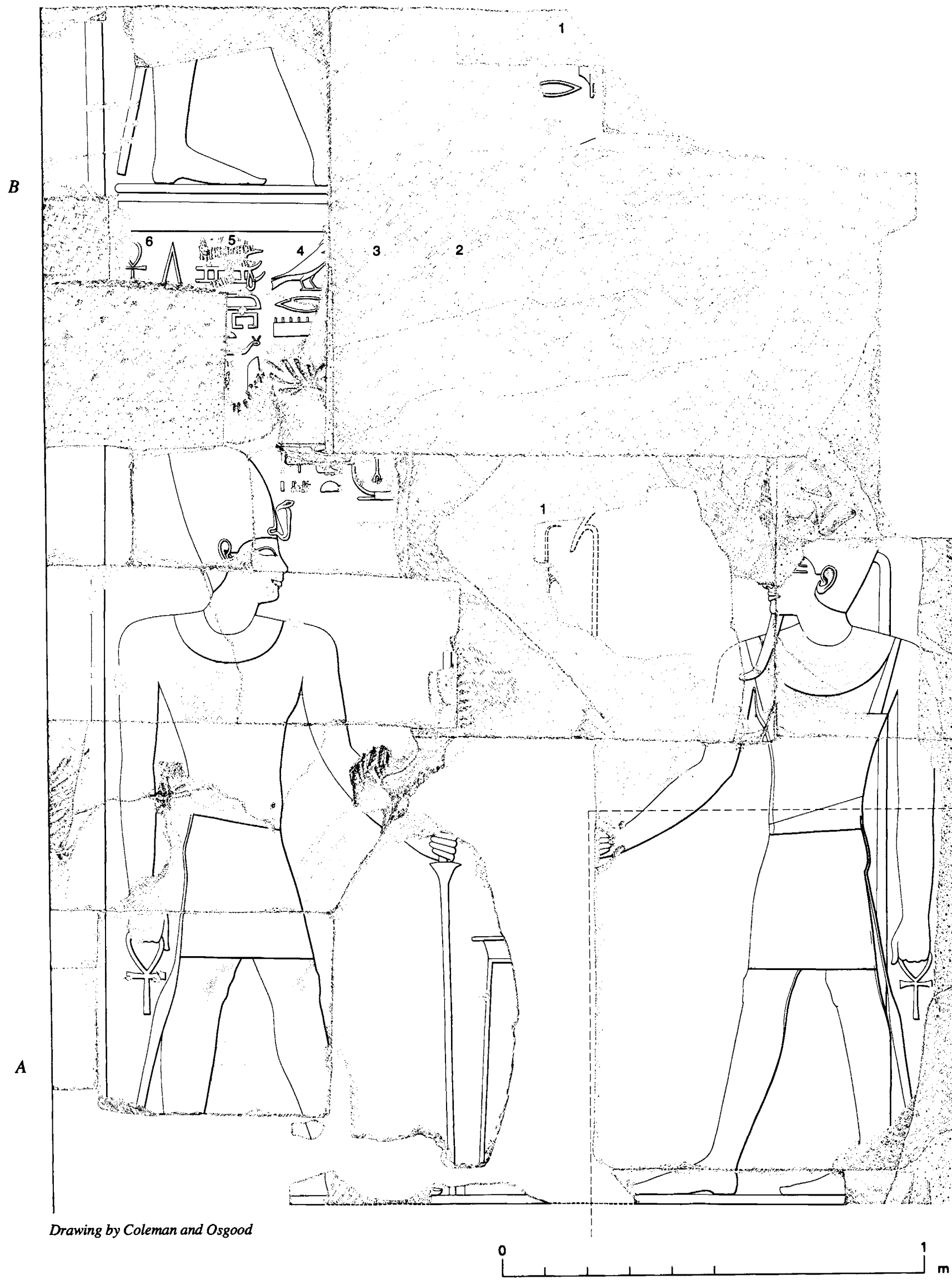
0 2 m



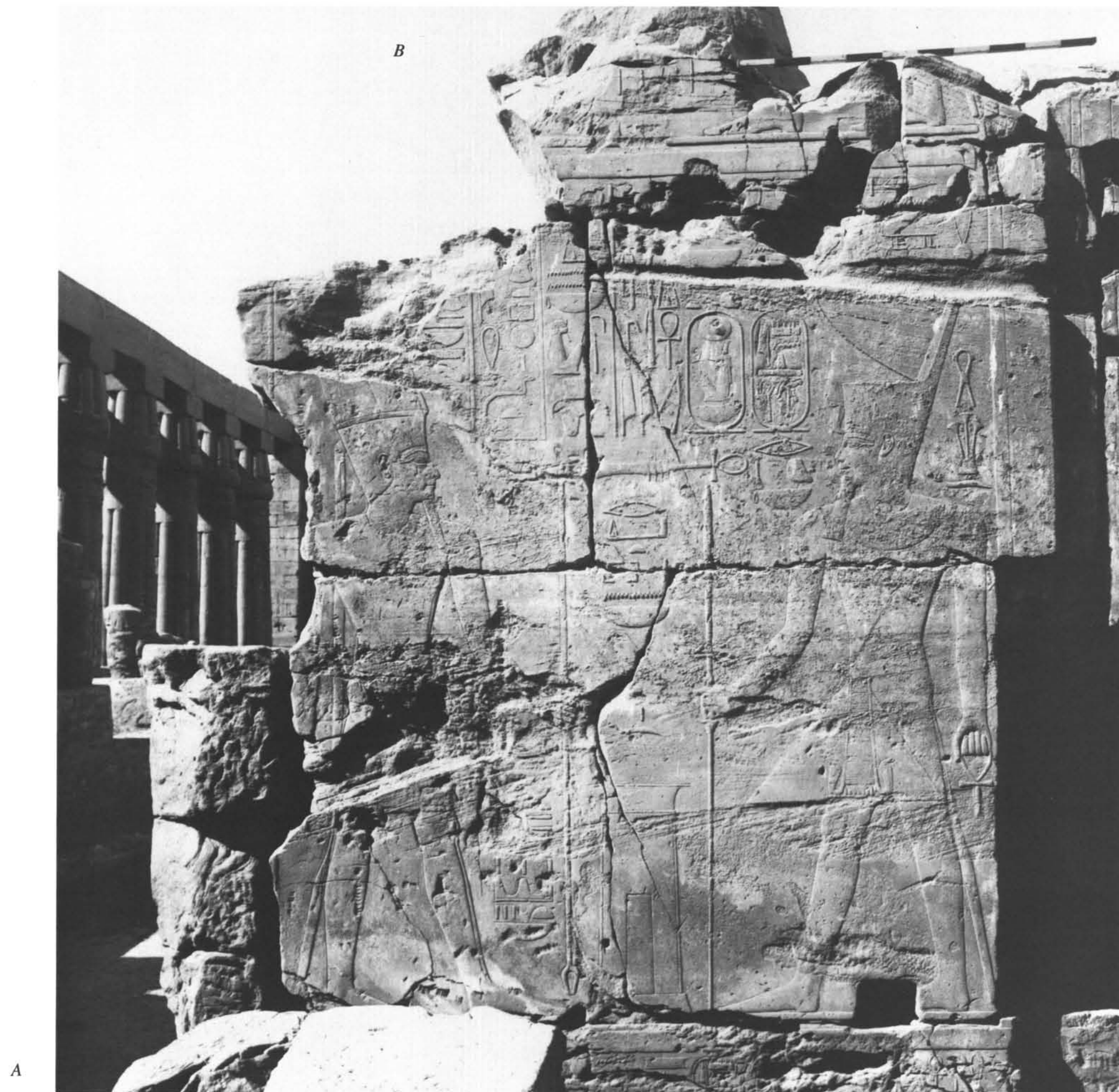
THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MERNEPTAH AND RAMESSES IV
EAST INTERIOR WALL



THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MERNEPTAH AND RAMESSES IV
WEST INTERIOR WALL

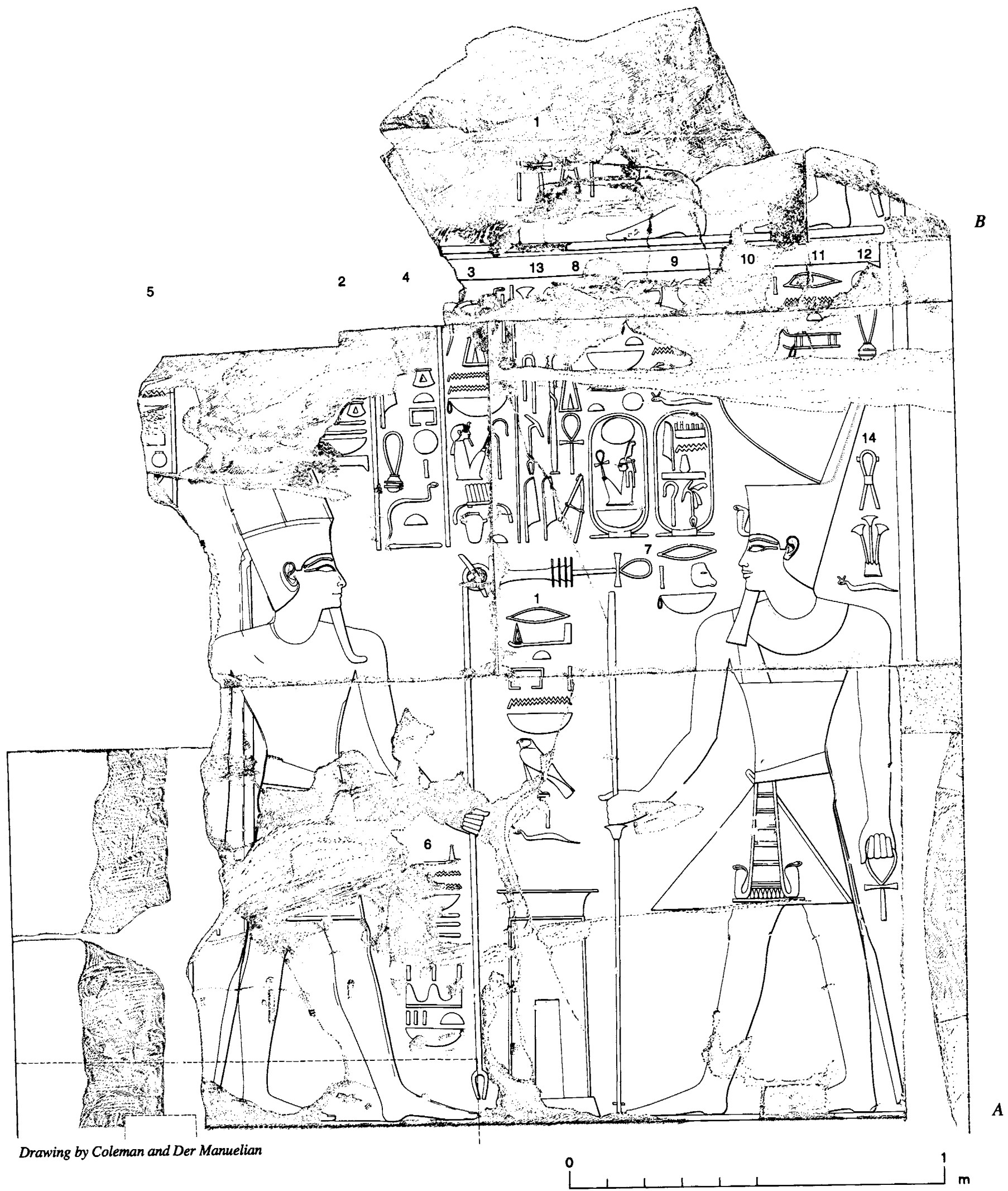


THE KING (A) PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMUN AND (B) BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NOW MISSING
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST AND SECOND REGISTERS

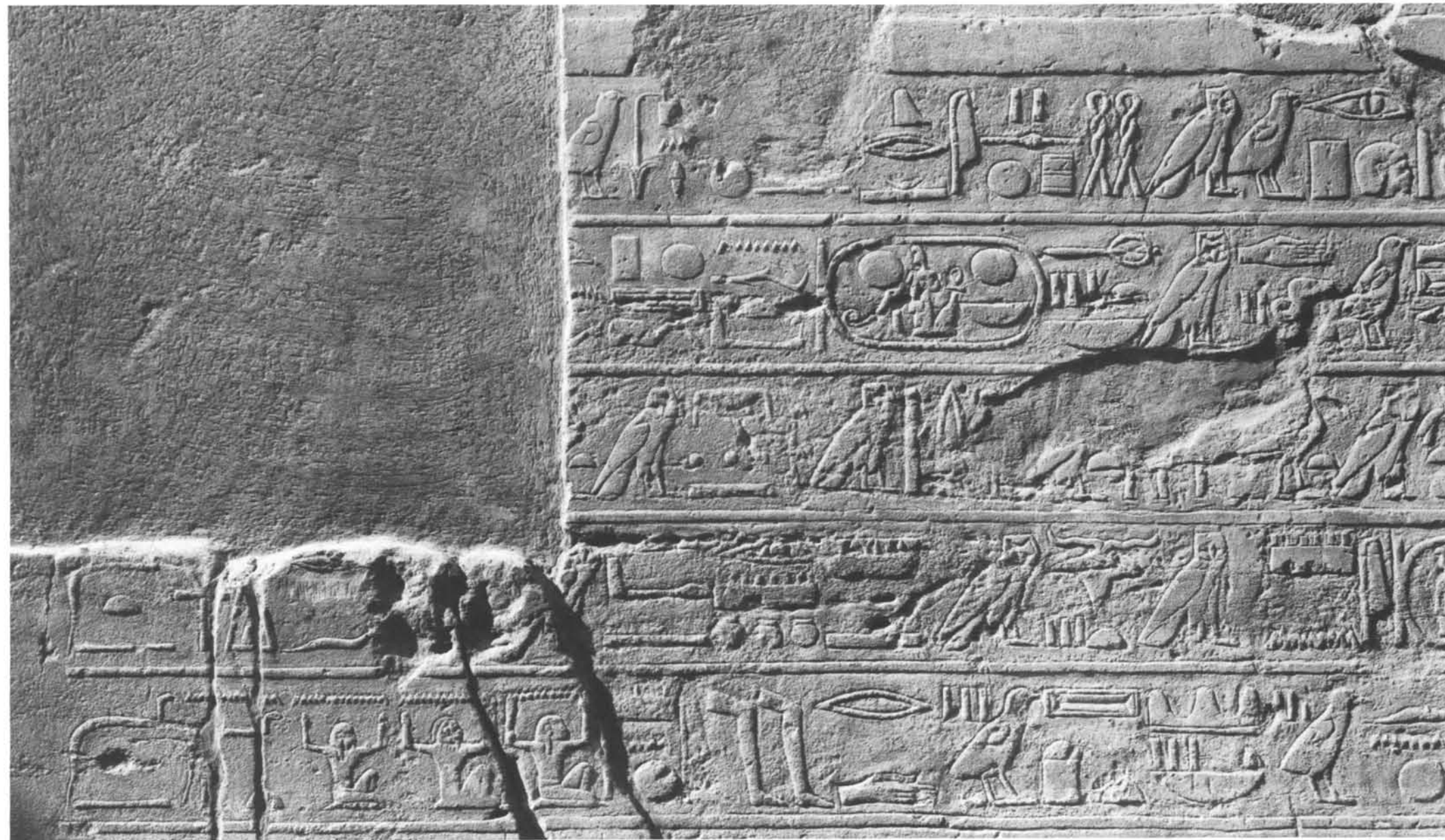
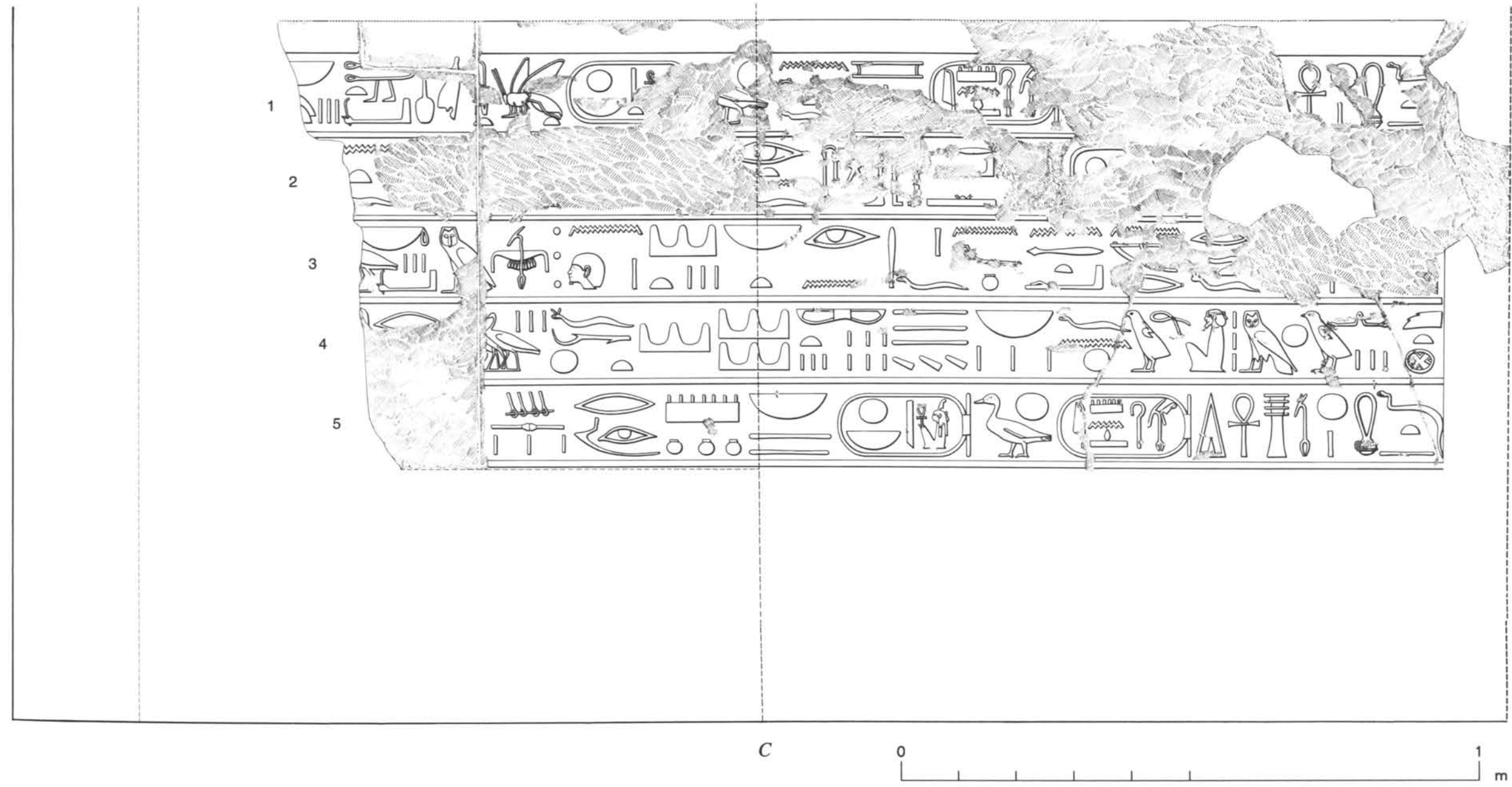
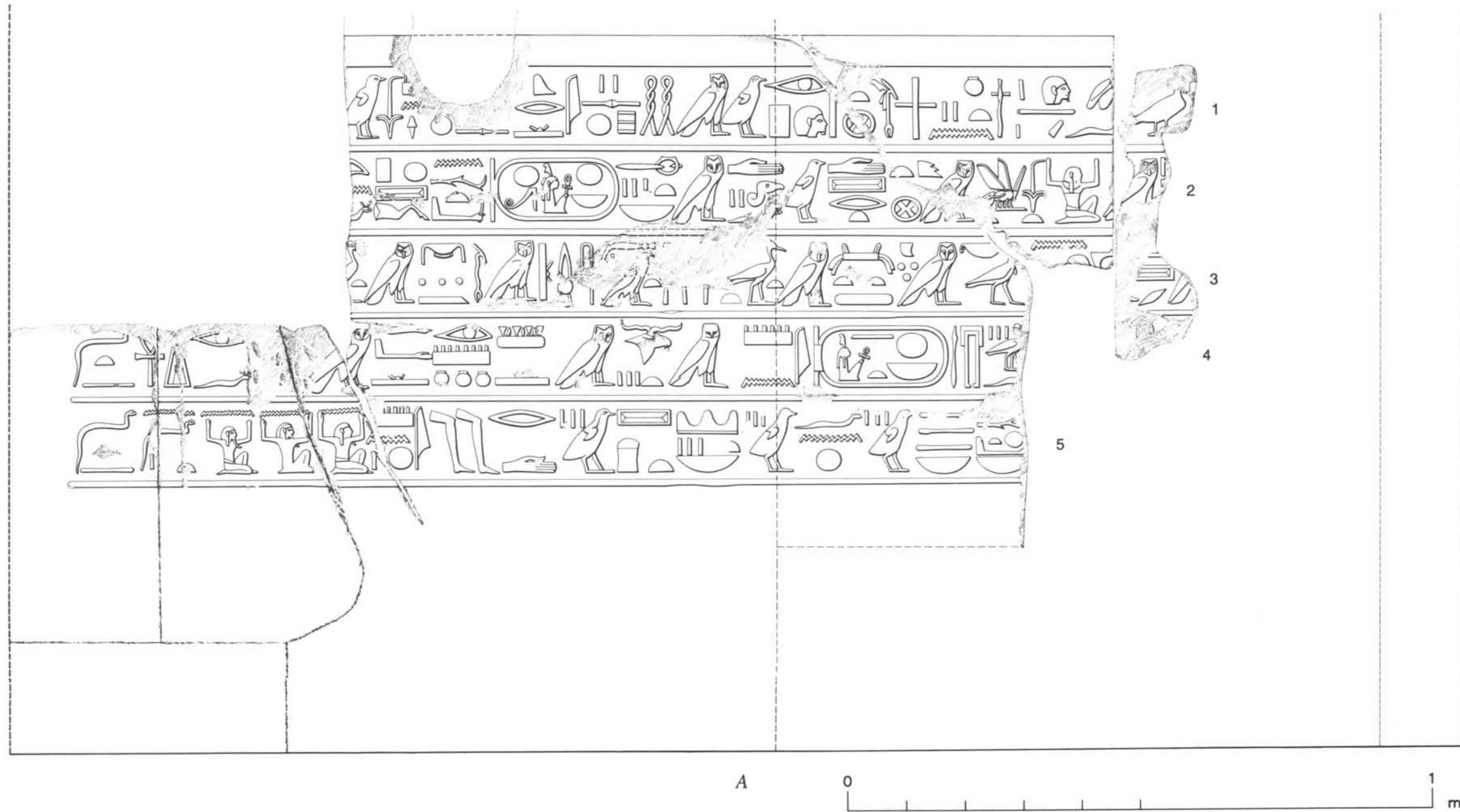


Photograph by The Epigraphic Survey

THE KING (A) PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMUN AND (B) BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN, NOW MISSING
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST AND SECOND REGISTERS
(Compare plate 176)

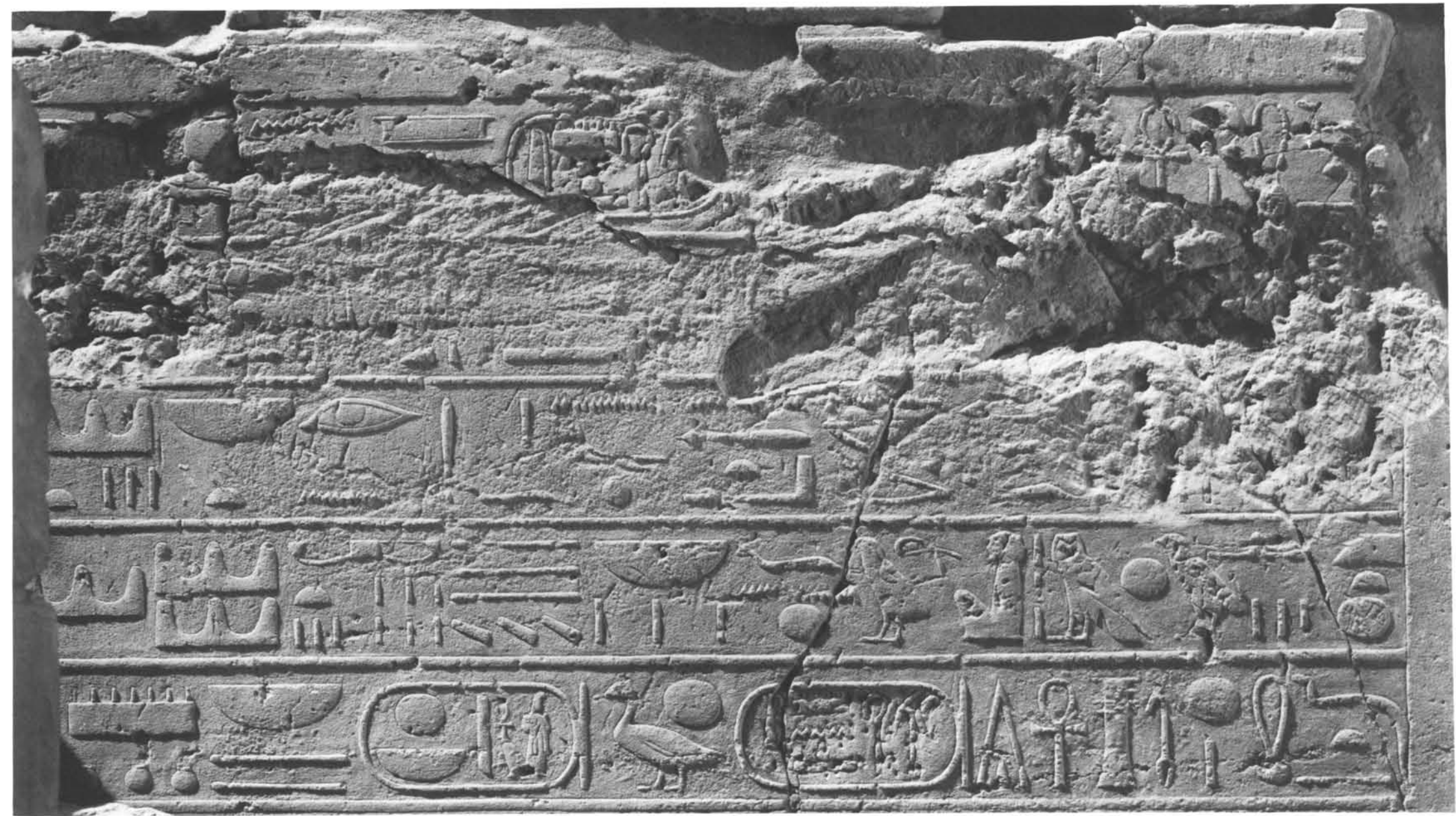


THE KING (A) PRESENTING THE TEMPLE TO AMUN AND (B) BEFORE ITHYPHALLIC AMUN,
NOW MISSING
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST AND SECOND REGISTERS
(See plate 175)



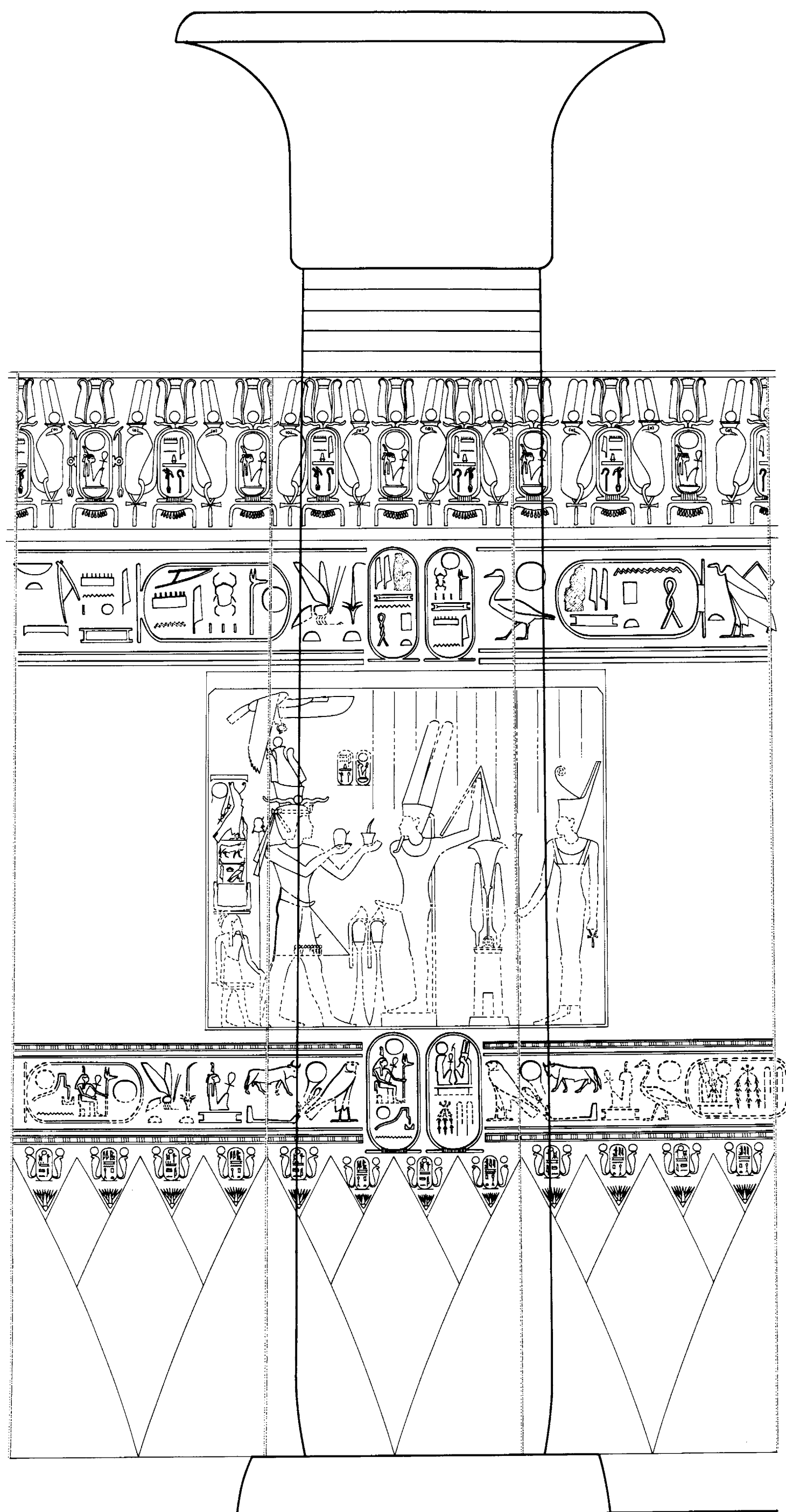
Drawings by Di Cerbo and Rasche
Photographs by Kobylecky

B



D

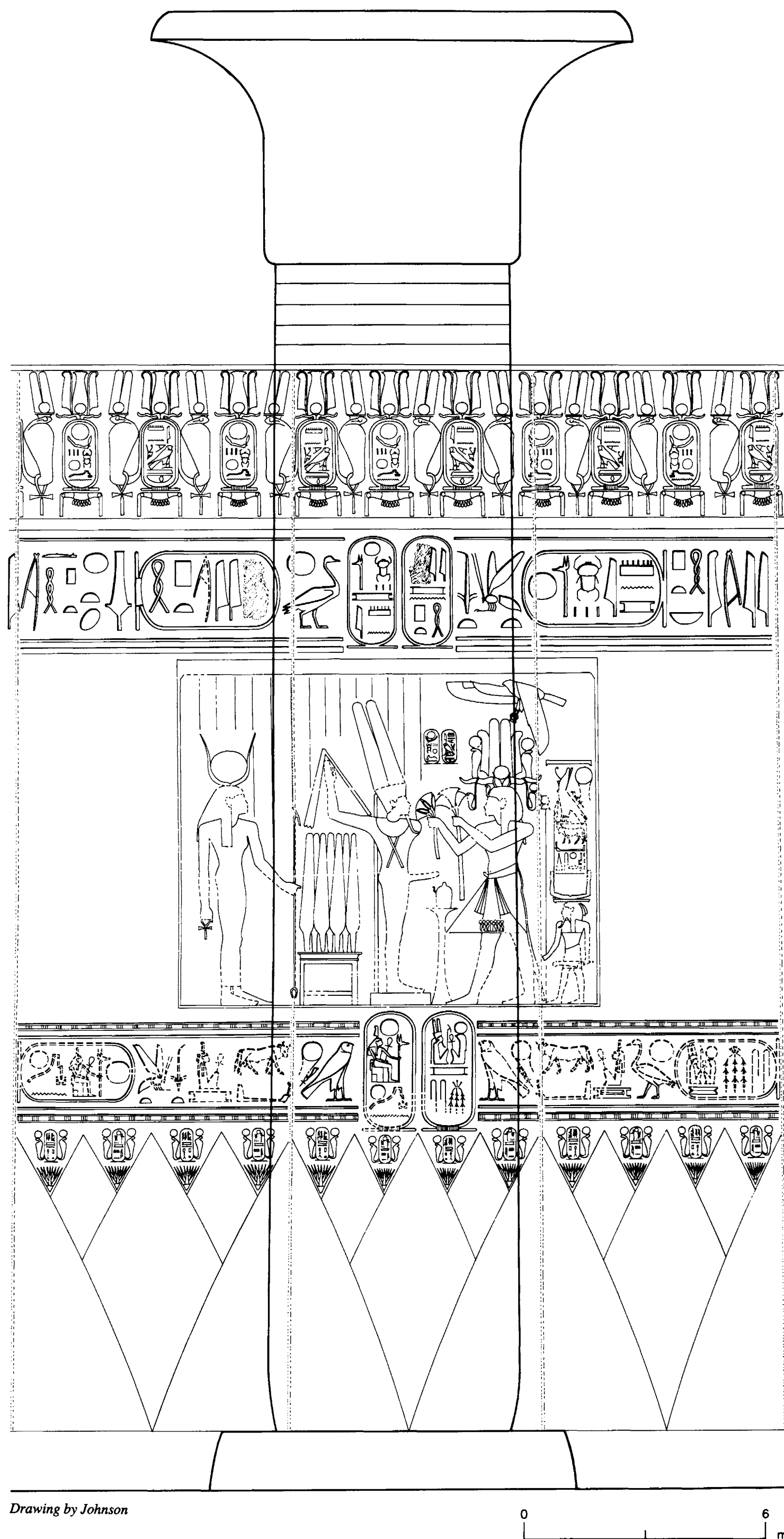
THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTIONS OF AMENHOTEP III, (A-B) THE EAST JAMB AND (C-D) WEST JAMB
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE



Drawing by Johnson

0 6
m

SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF COLUMN 3



Drawing by Johnson

0 6 m

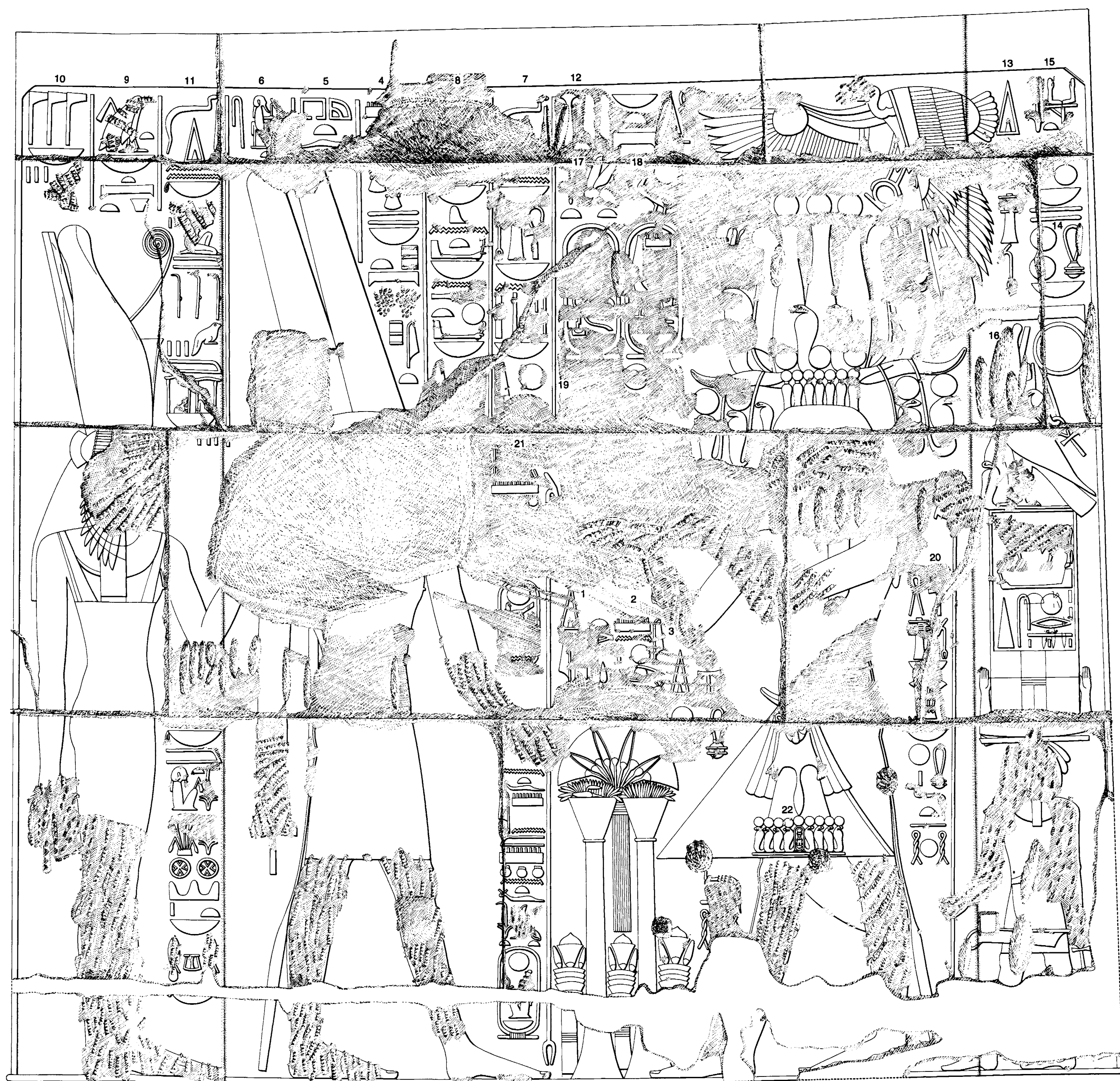
SCHEMATIC DRAWING OF COLUMN 8



Drawing by Osgood and Rasche

Scale approximately 1:12

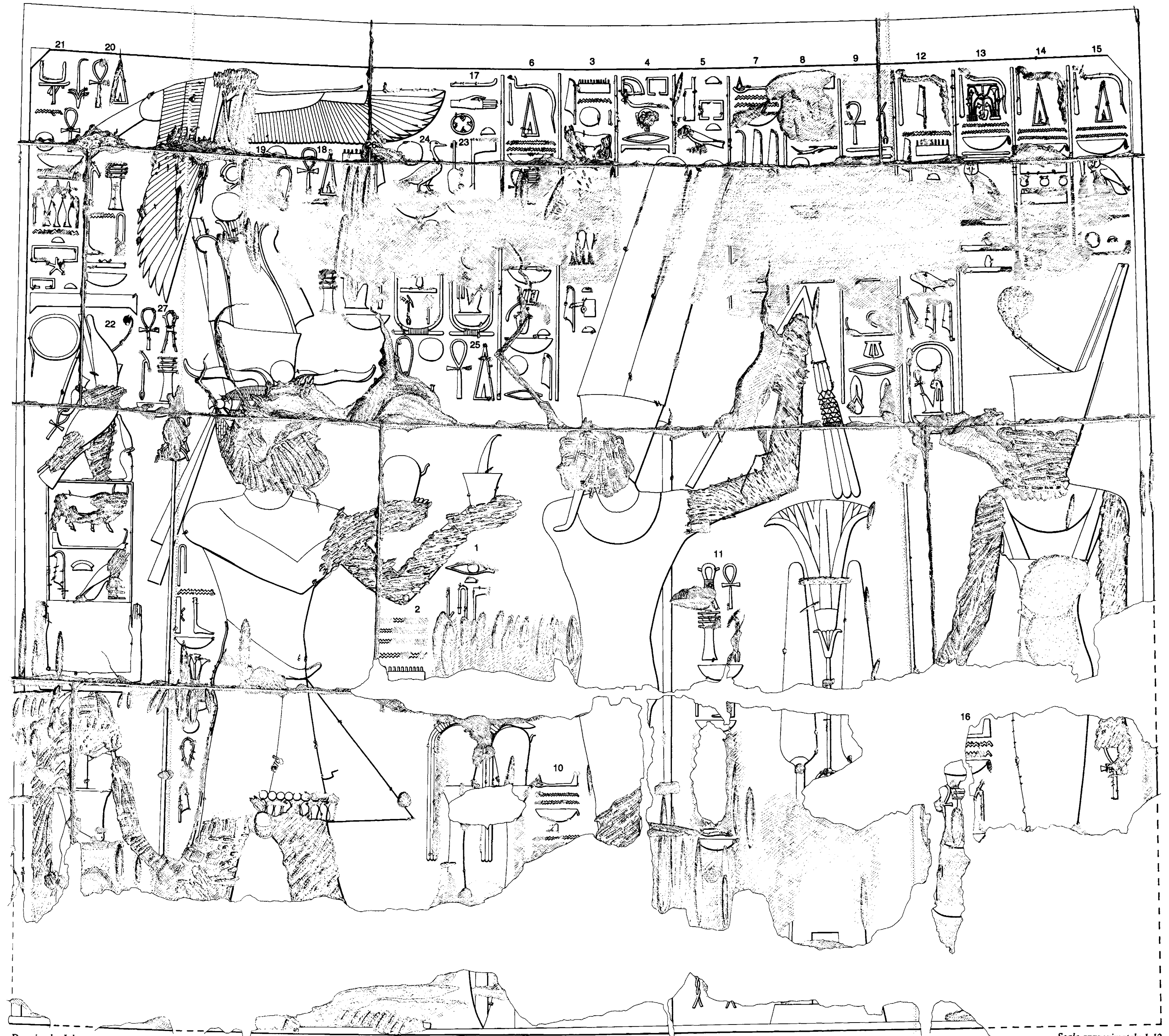
THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 1



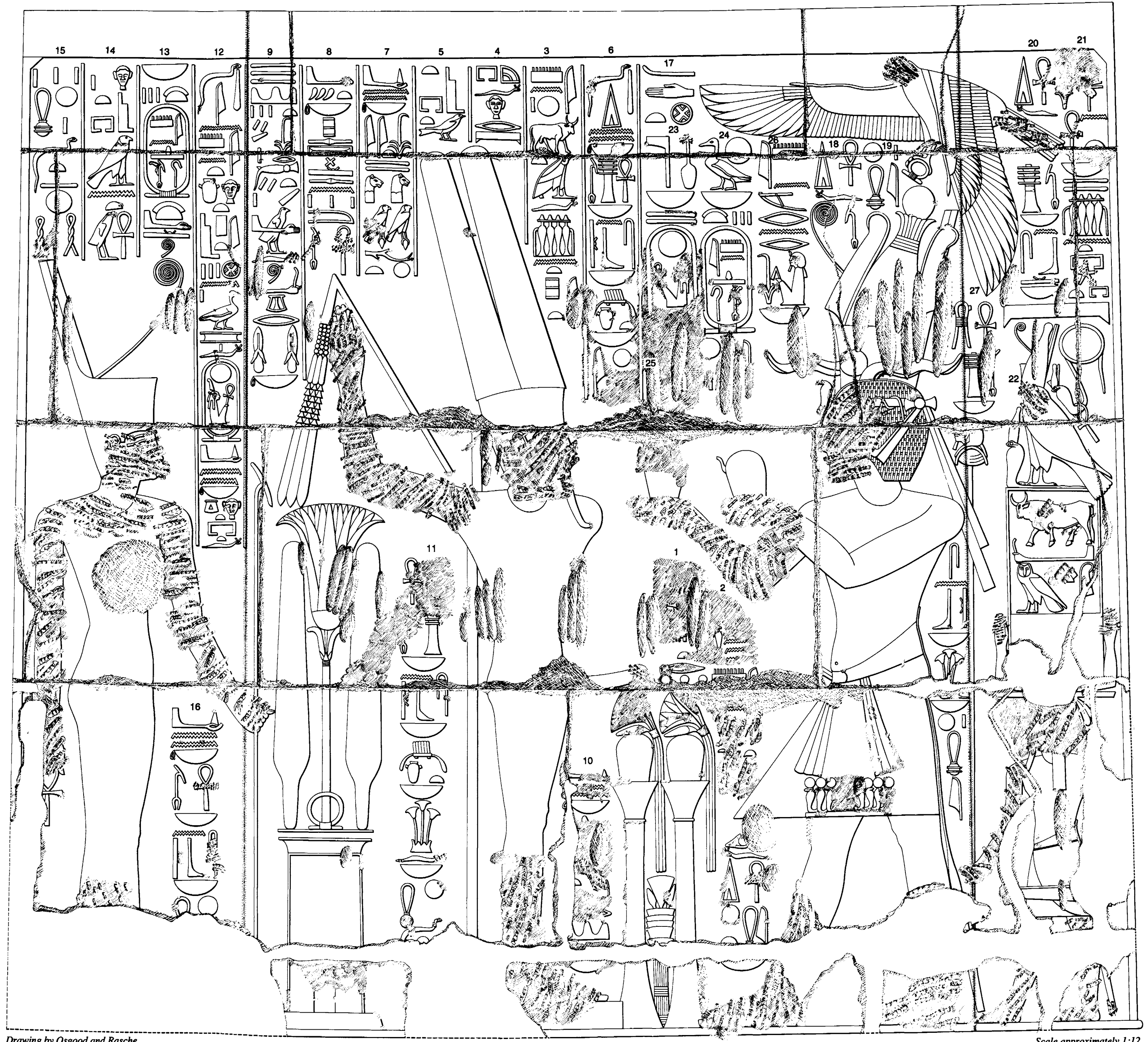
Drawing by Osgood and Rasche

Scale approximately 1:12

THE KING OFFERING WINE TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 2



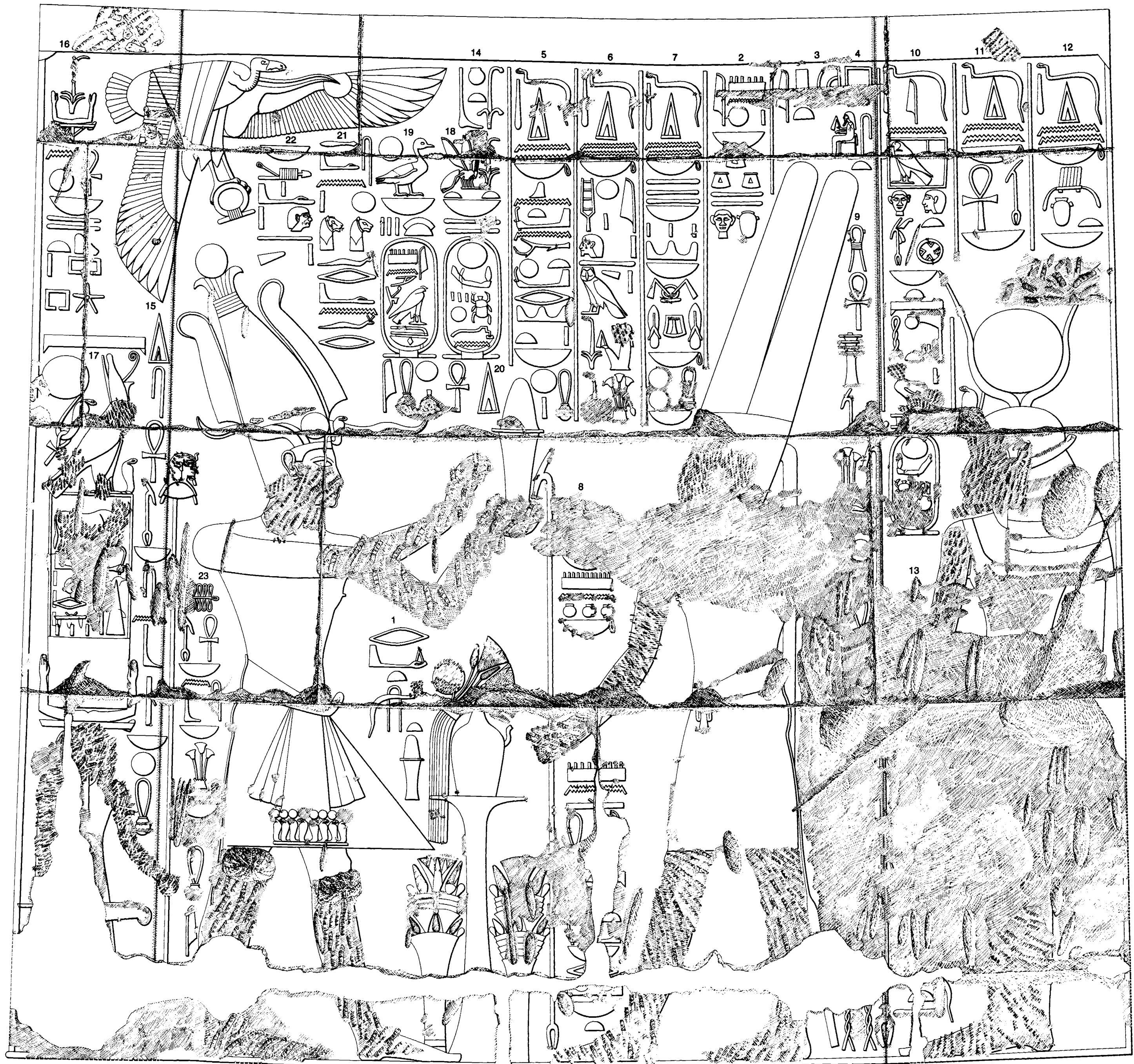
THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 3



Drawing by Osgood and Rasche

Scale approximately 1:12

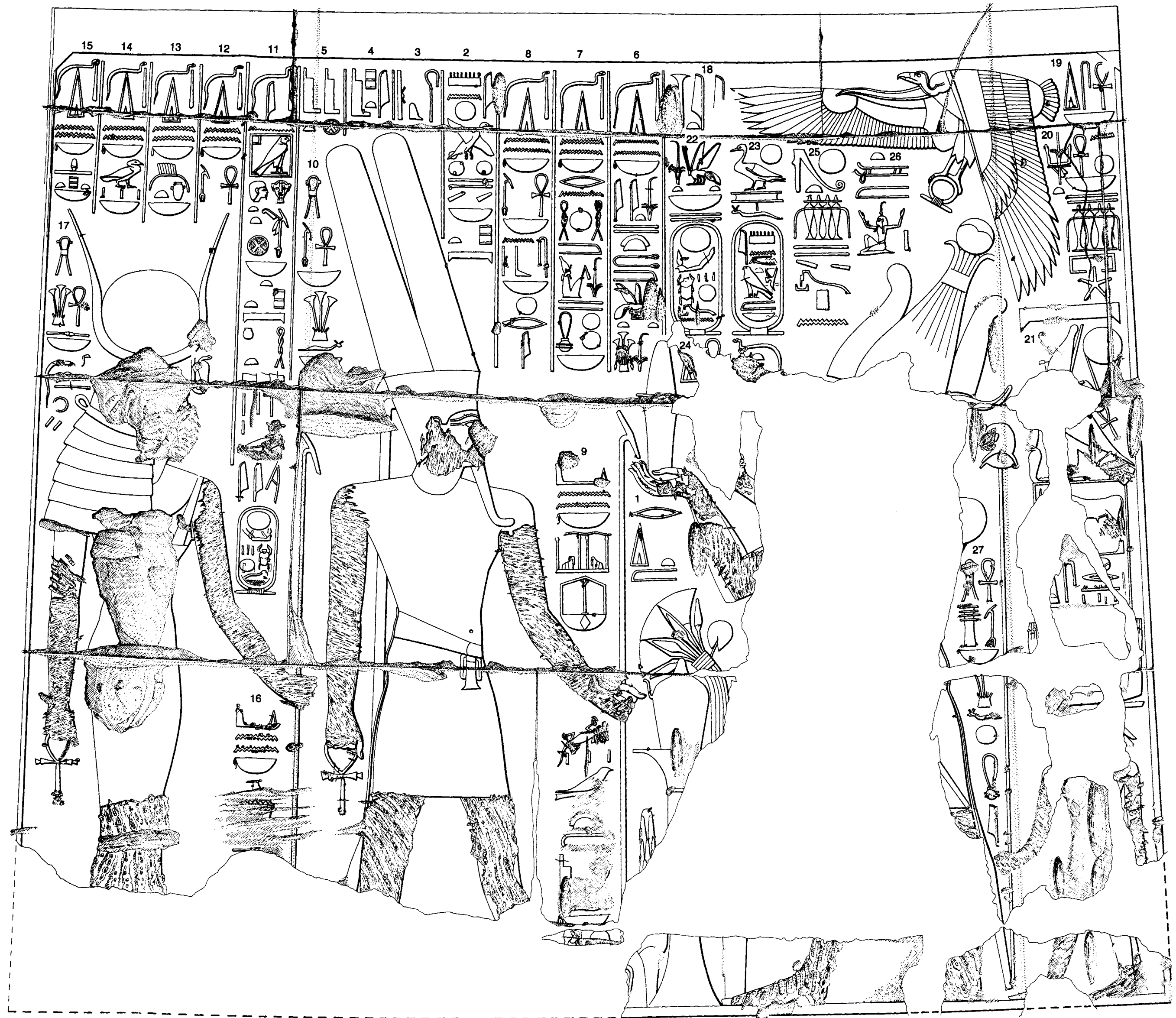
THE KING THURIFYING AND POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF AMUNET
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 4



Drawing by Osgood and Rasche

Scale approximately 1:12

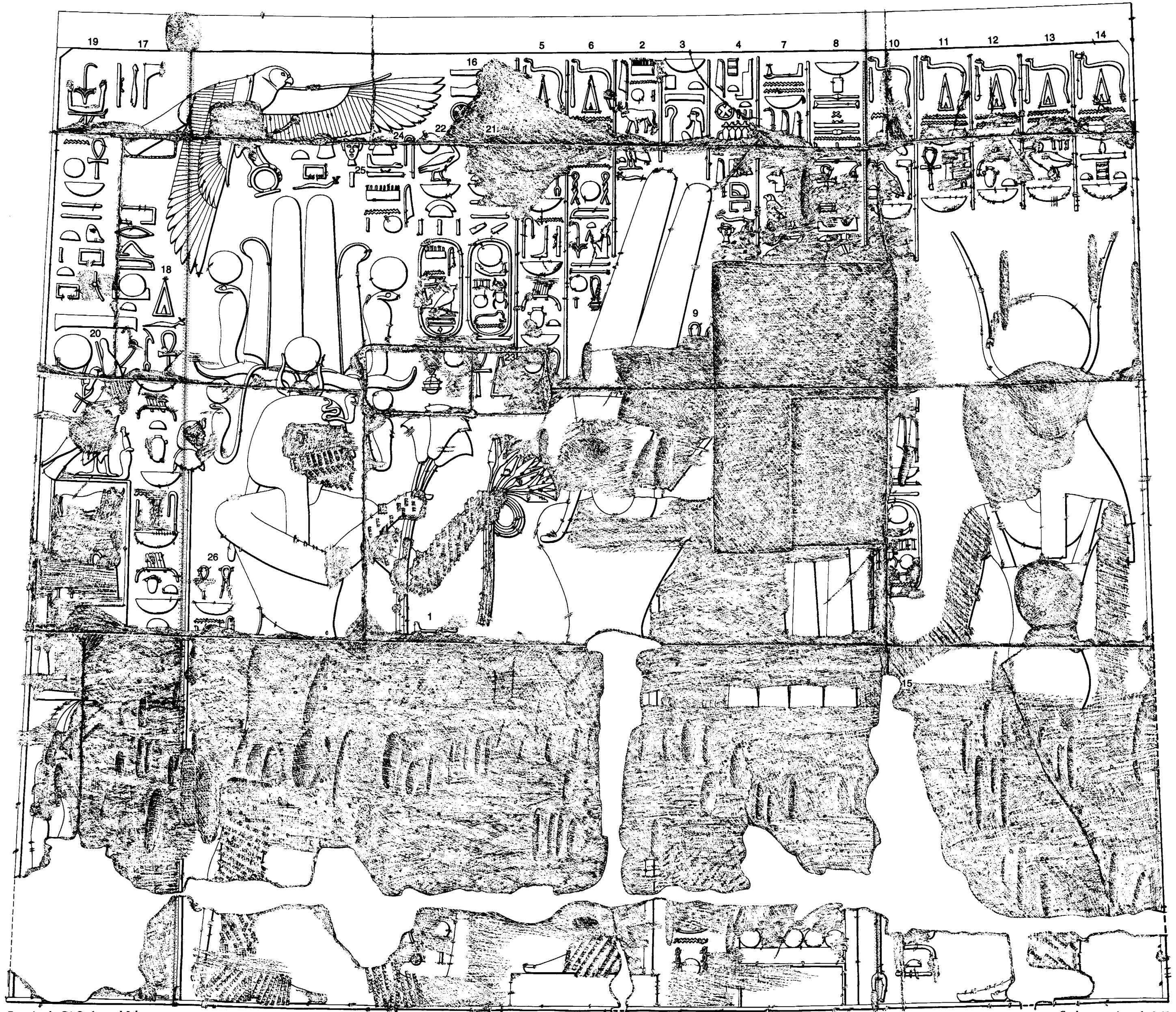
THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 5



Drawing by Johnson

Scale approximately 1:12

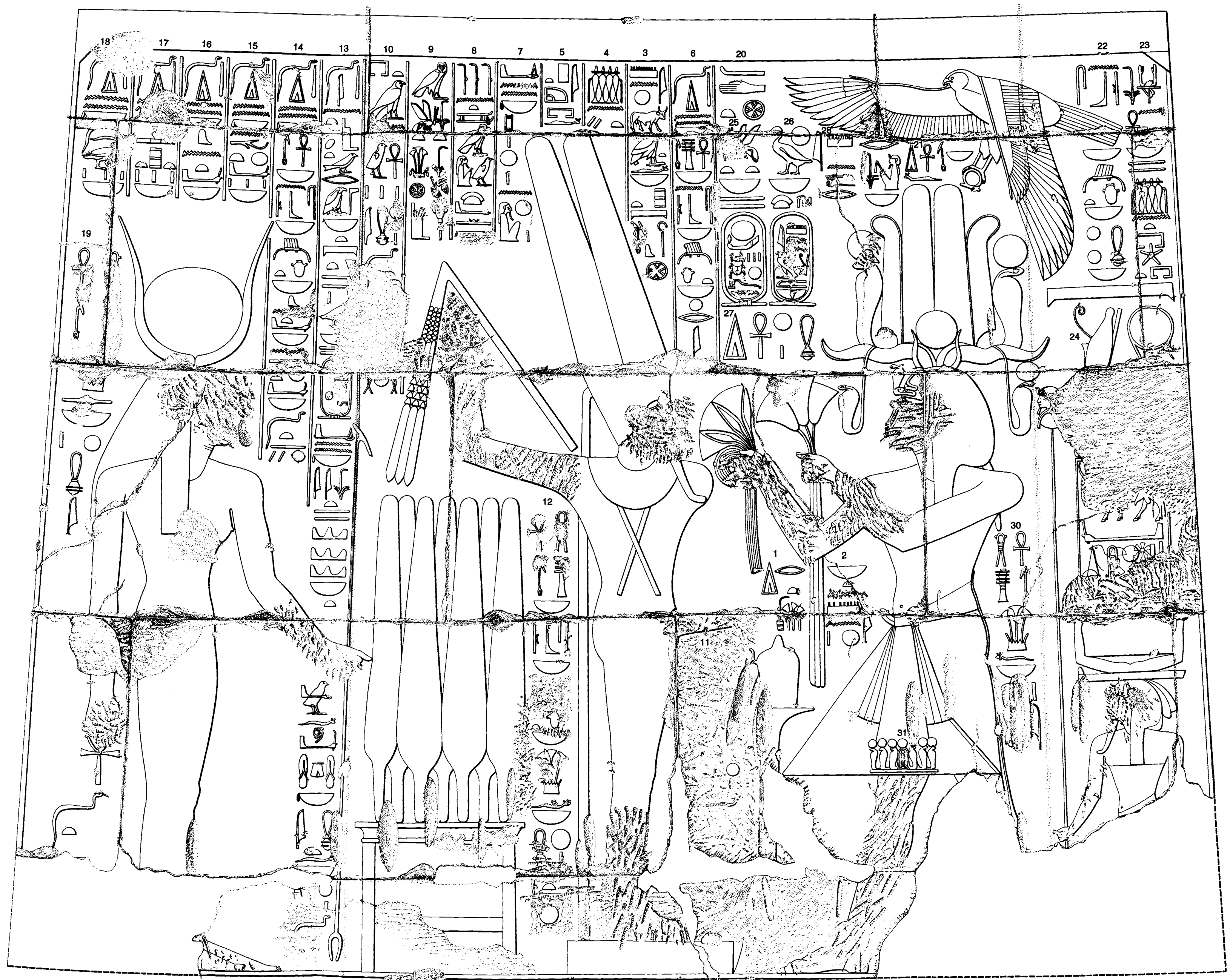
THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 6



Drawing by Di Cerbo and Johnson

Scale approximately 1:12

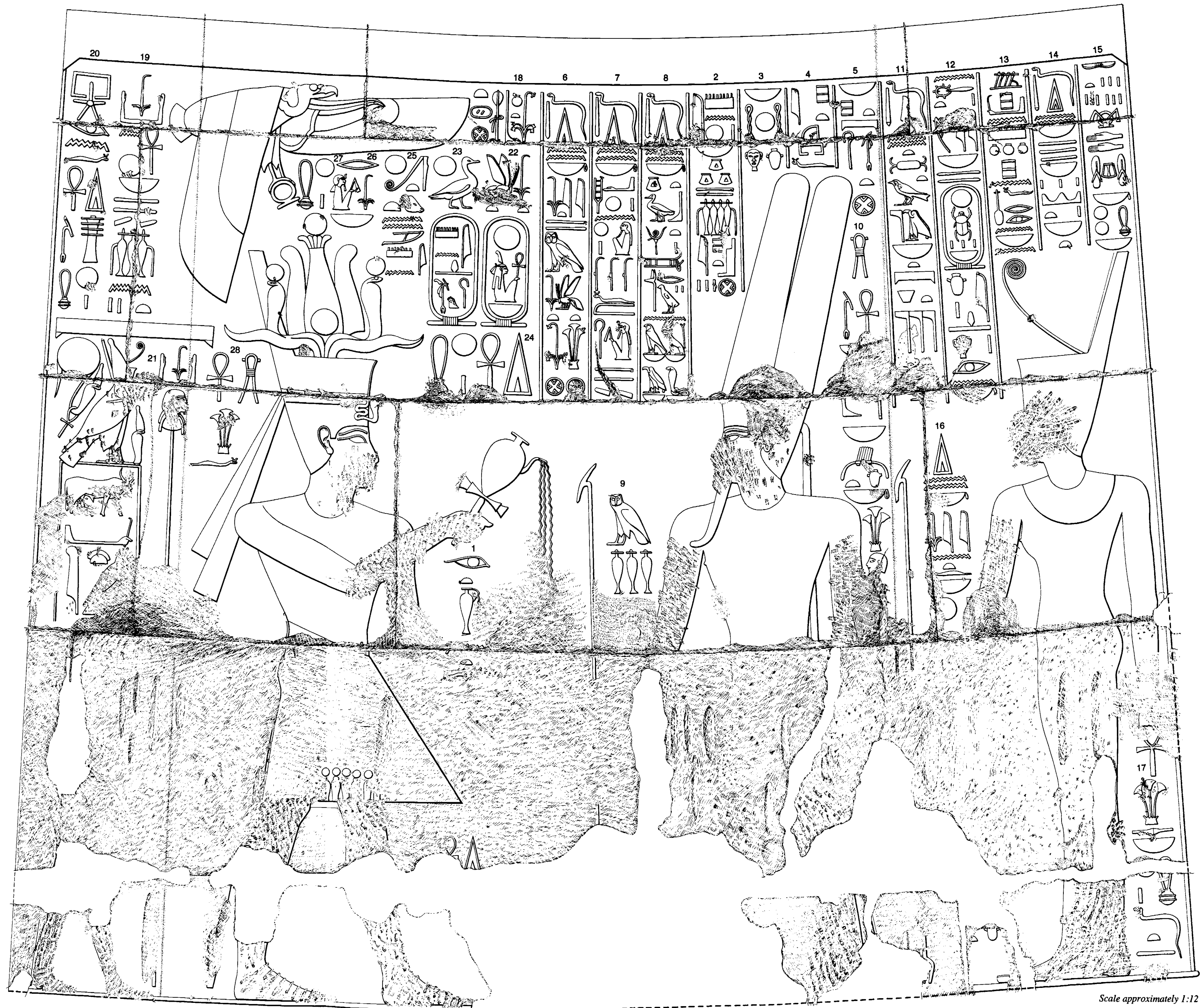
THE KING OFFERING FLOWERS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 7



Drawing by Arnold, Groves, and Osgood

Scale approximately 1:12

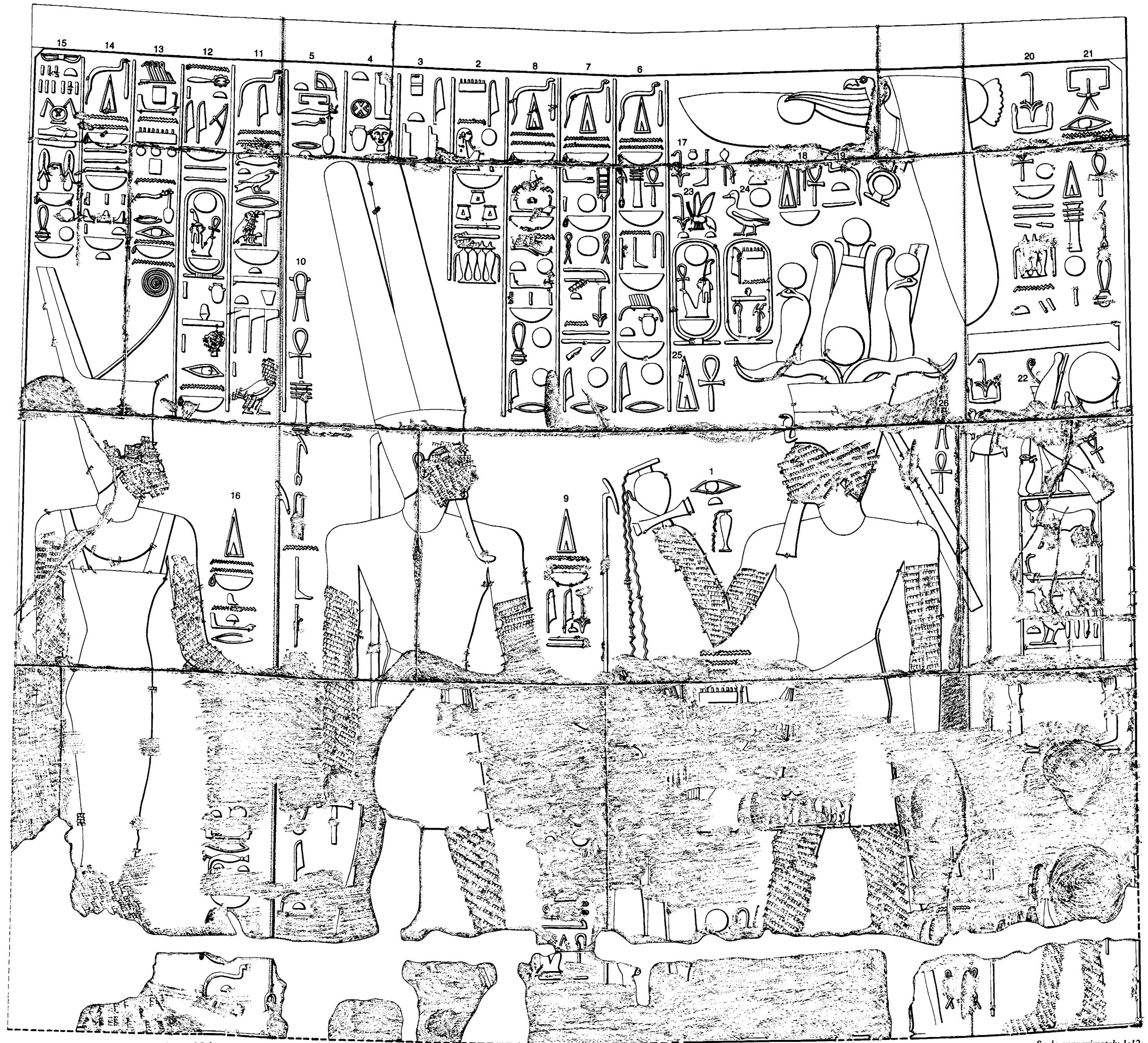
THE KING OFFERING FLOWERS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF ISIS
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 8



Drawing by Arnold, Baumann, and Osgood

Scale approximately 1:12

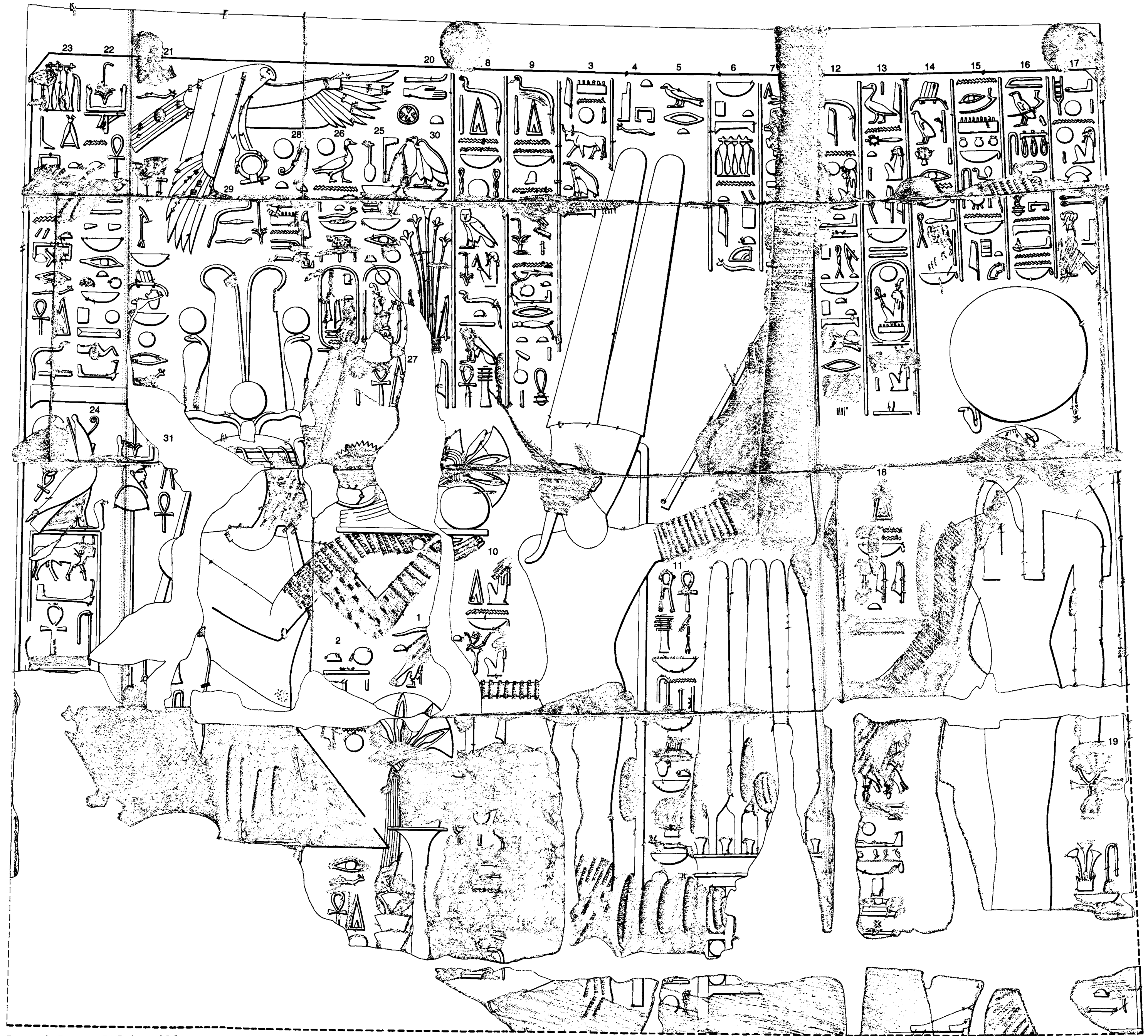
THE KING POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF NEITH
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 9



Drawing by Arnold, Baumann, Di Cerbo, and Johnson

Scale approximately 1:12

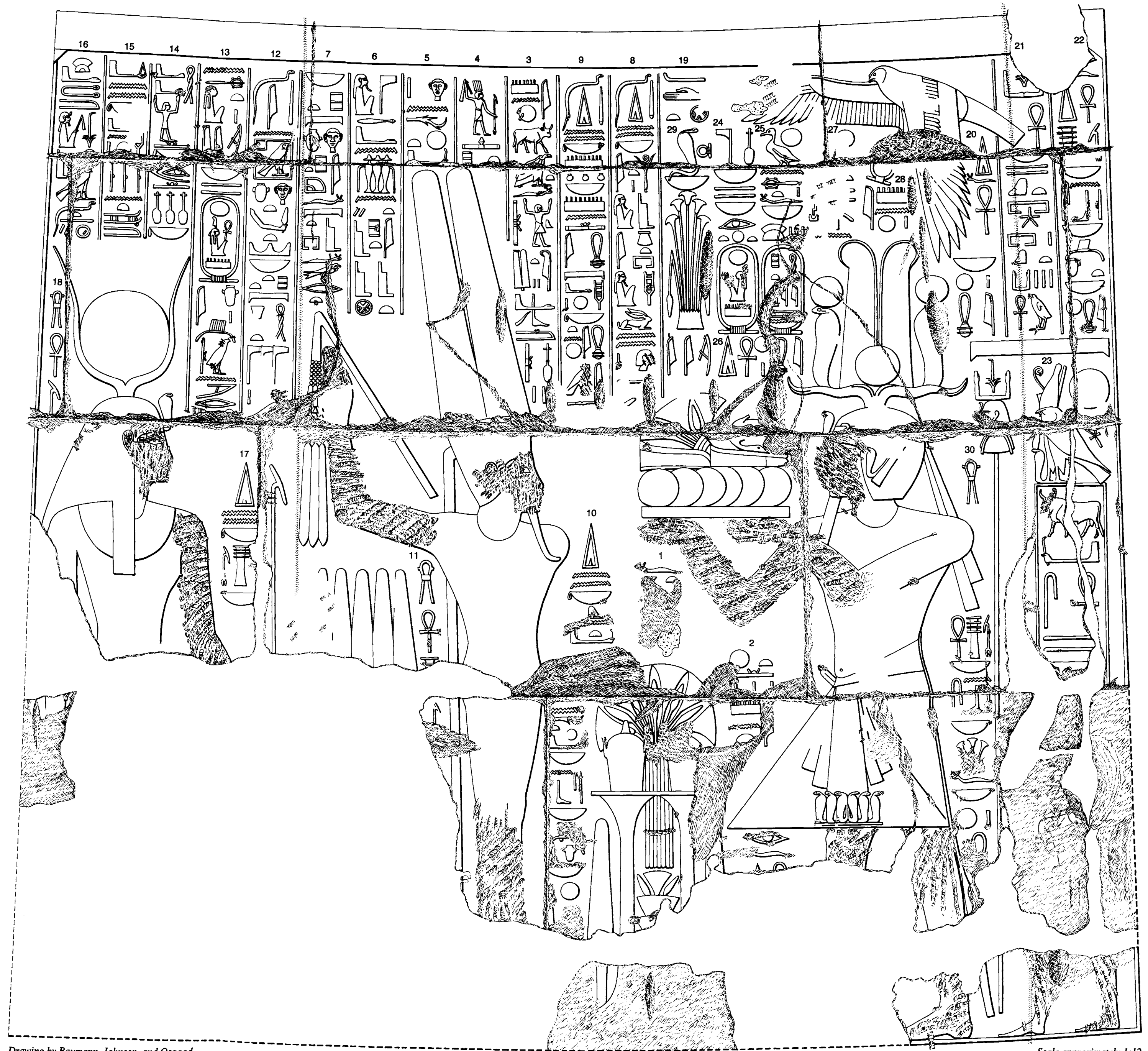
THE KING POURING A LIBATION TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF NEITH
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 10



Drawing by Baumann, Di Cerbo, and Johnson

Scale approximately 1:12

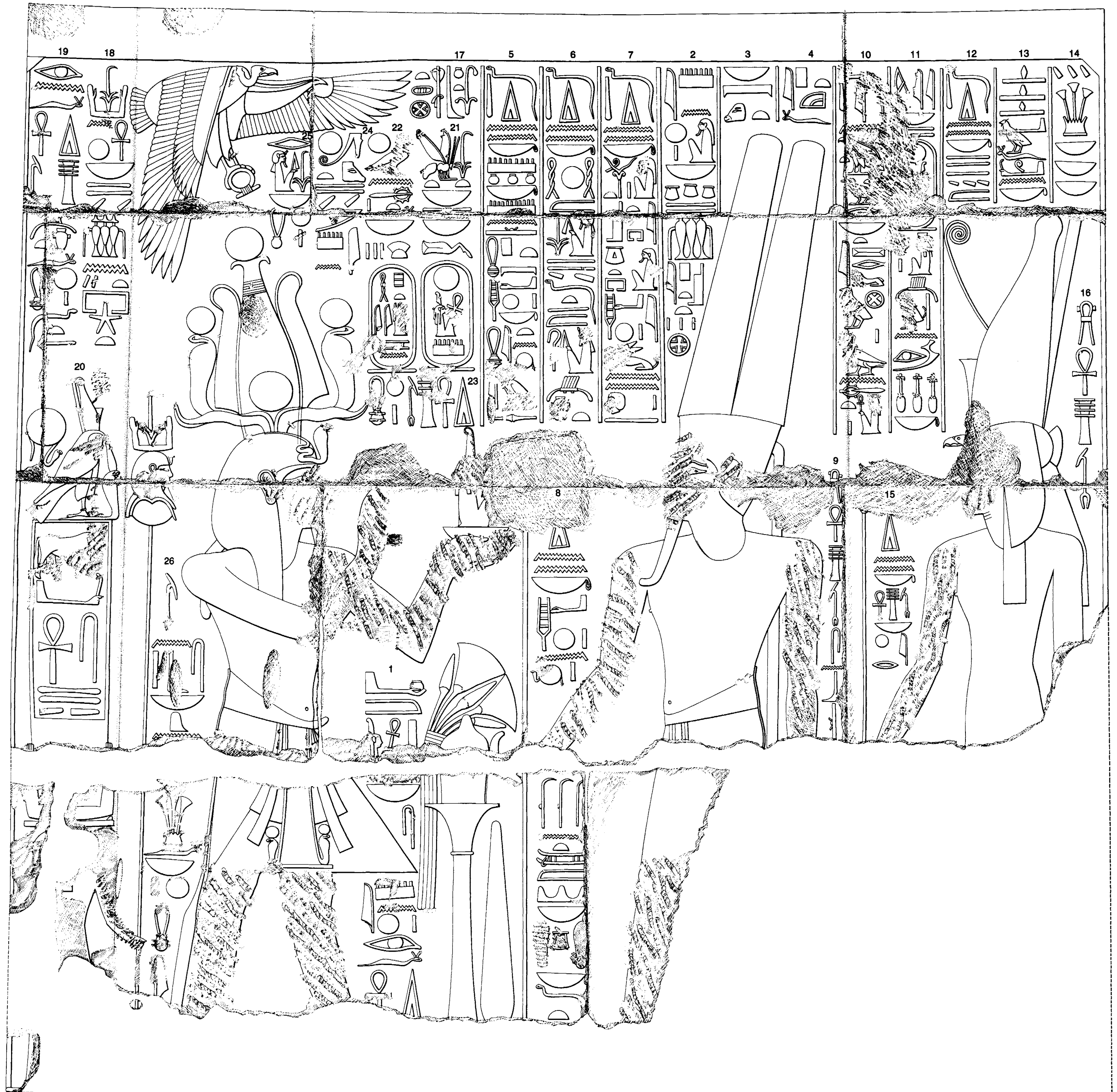
THE KING ELEVATING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF SEKHMET
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 11



Drawing by Baumann, Johnson, and Osgood

Scale approximately 1:12

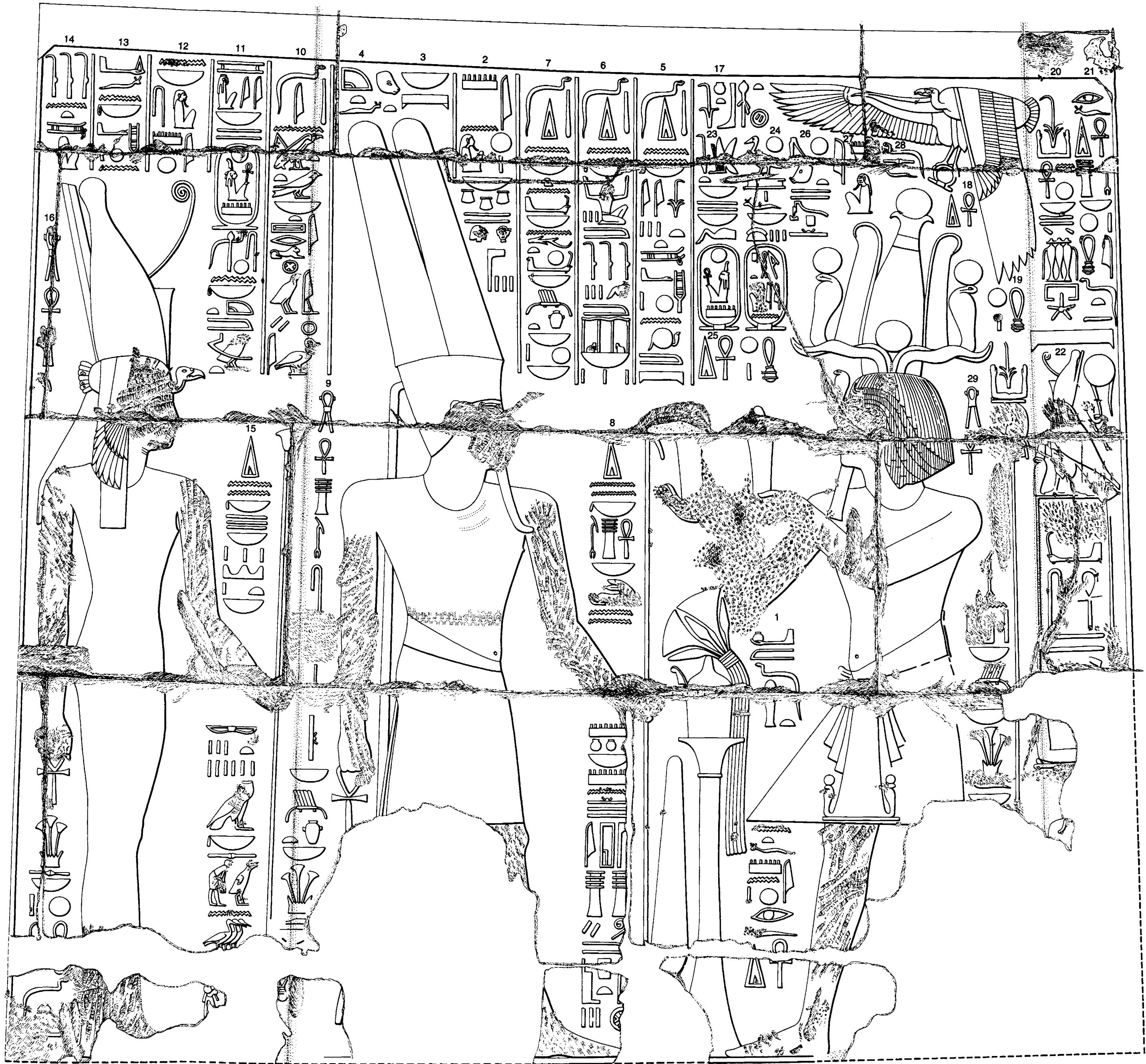
THE KING ELEVATING OFFERINGS TO AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF IN THE PRESENCE OF HATHOR
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 12



Drawing by Osgood and Rasche

Scale approximately 1:12

THE KING OFFERING MAAT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 13



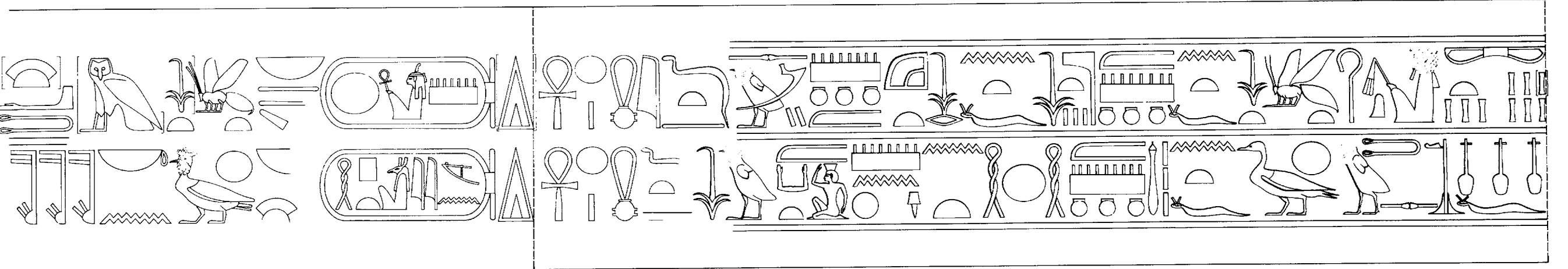
Drawing by Groves and Osgood

Scale approximately 1:12

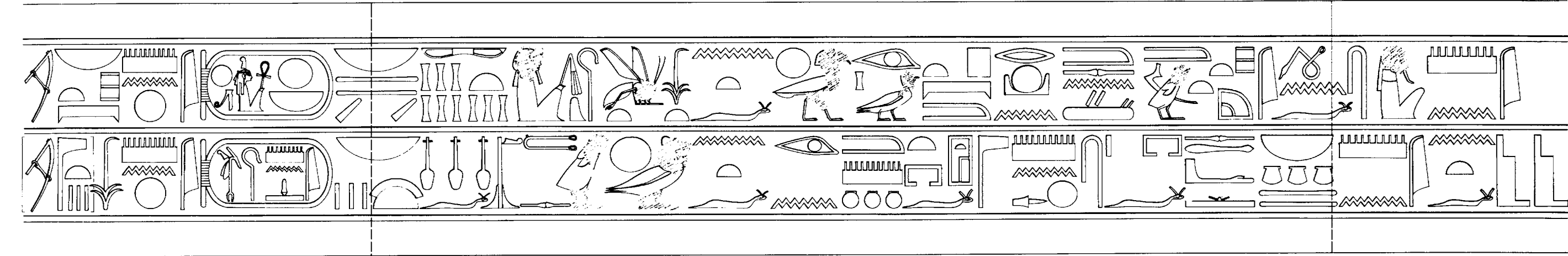
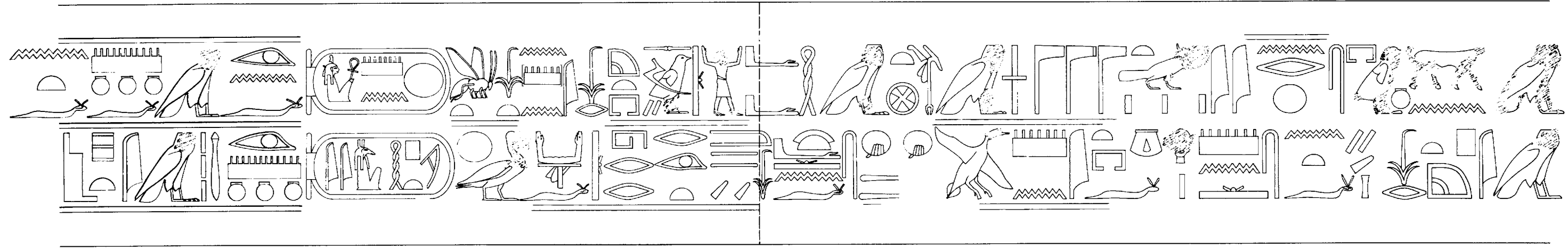
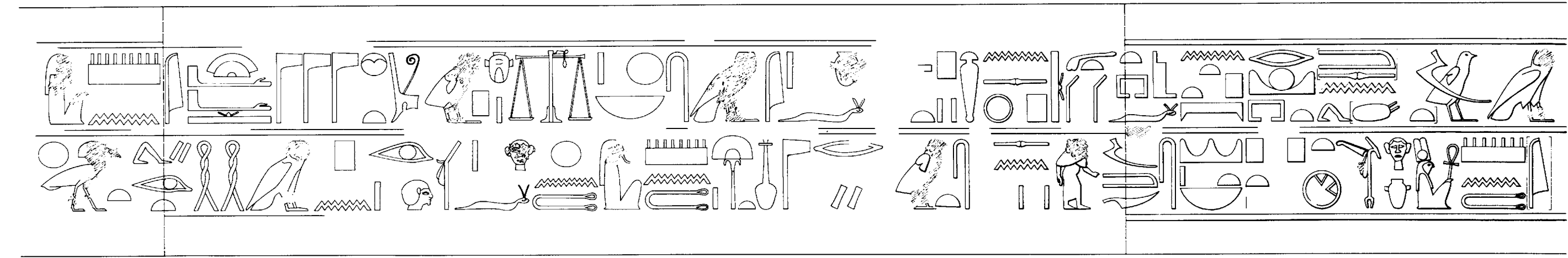
THE KING OFFERING OINTMENT TO AMUN-RE IN THE PRESENCE OF MUT
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 14

Drawing by Baumann, Di Cerbo, and Rasche

THE COLUMN BASE INSCRIPTIONS



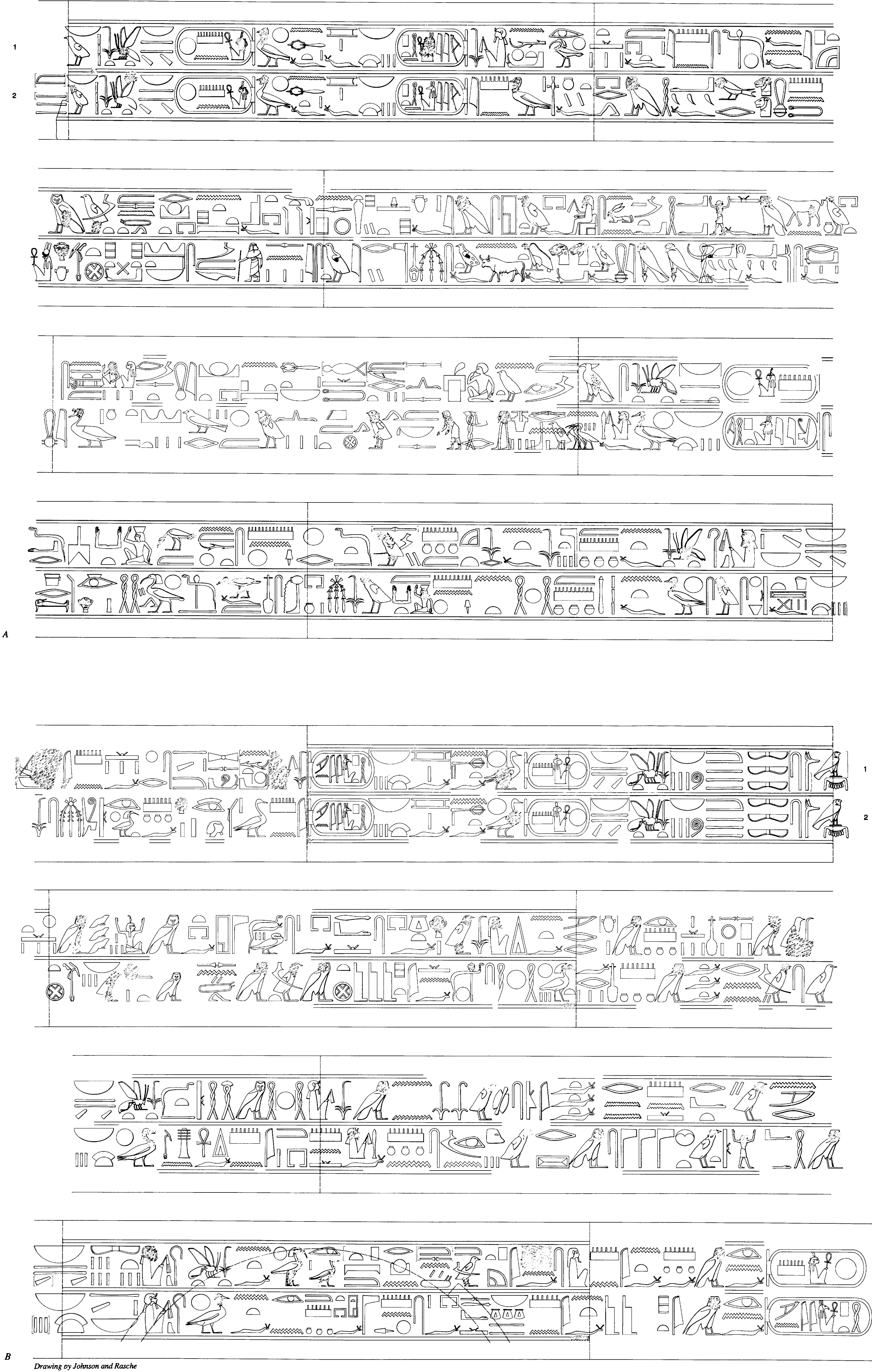
A



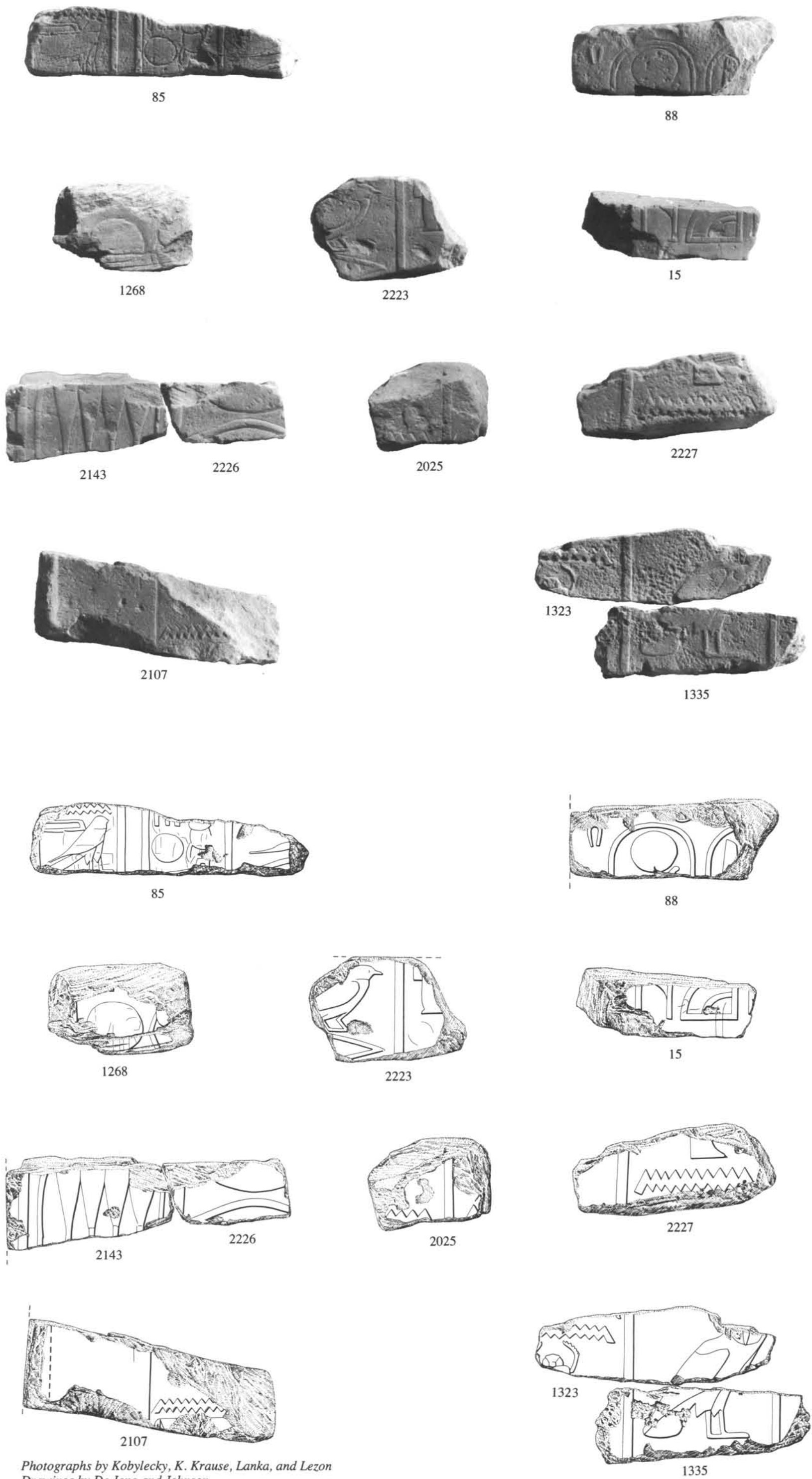
B

Drawings by Johnson and Rasche

THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE EAST ARCHITRAVE, (A) THE EAST AND (B) WEST FACES



THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE WEST ARCHITRAVE, (A) THE EAST AND (B) WEST FACES



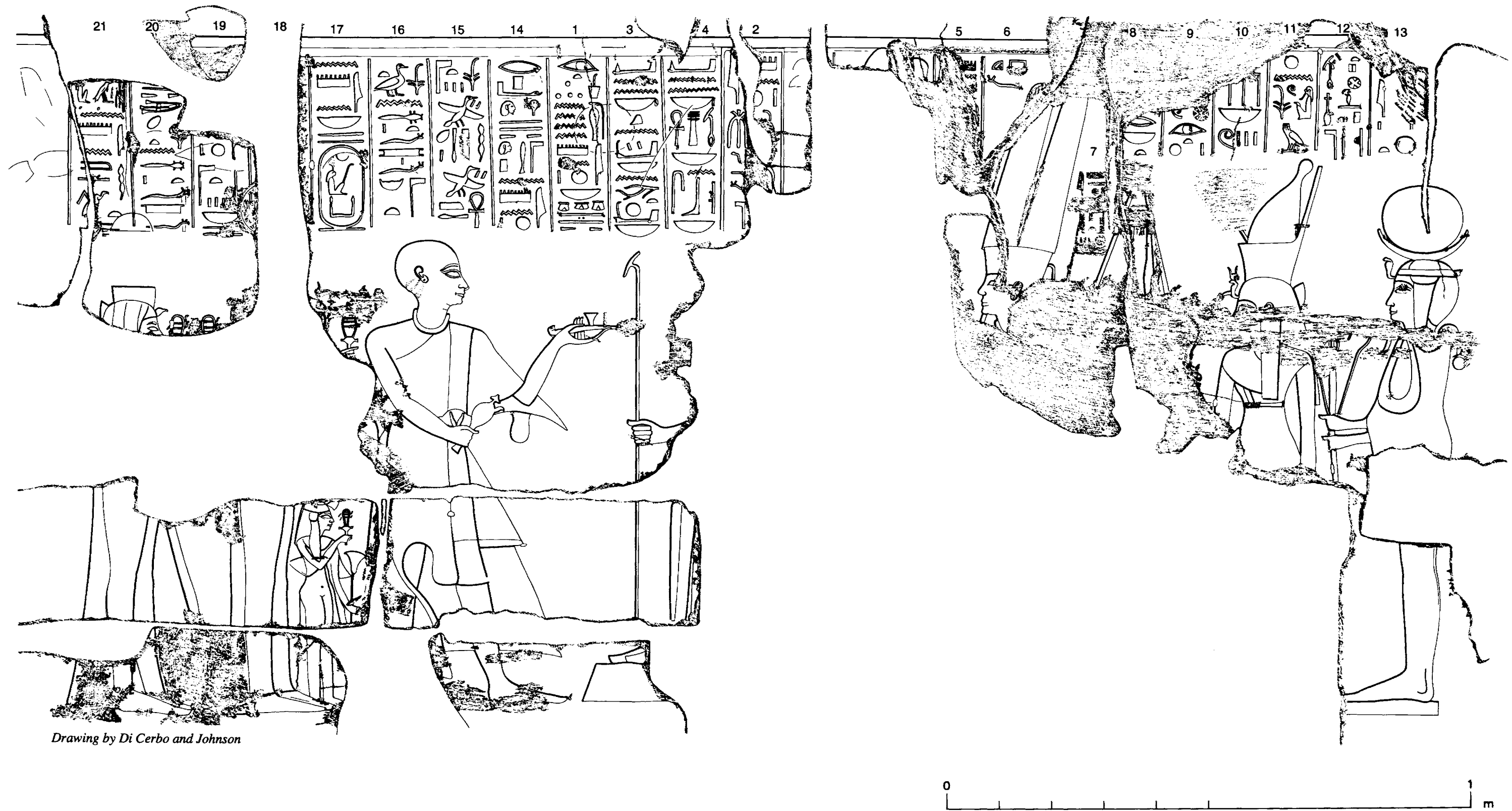
Photographs by Kobylecky, K. Krause, Lanka, and Lezon
Drawings by De Jong and Johnson

0 50 cm



Photograph by The Epigraphic Survey

THE PINUDJEM TABLEAU (GR. 1)
FACADE, EAST WALL
(Compare plate 200)



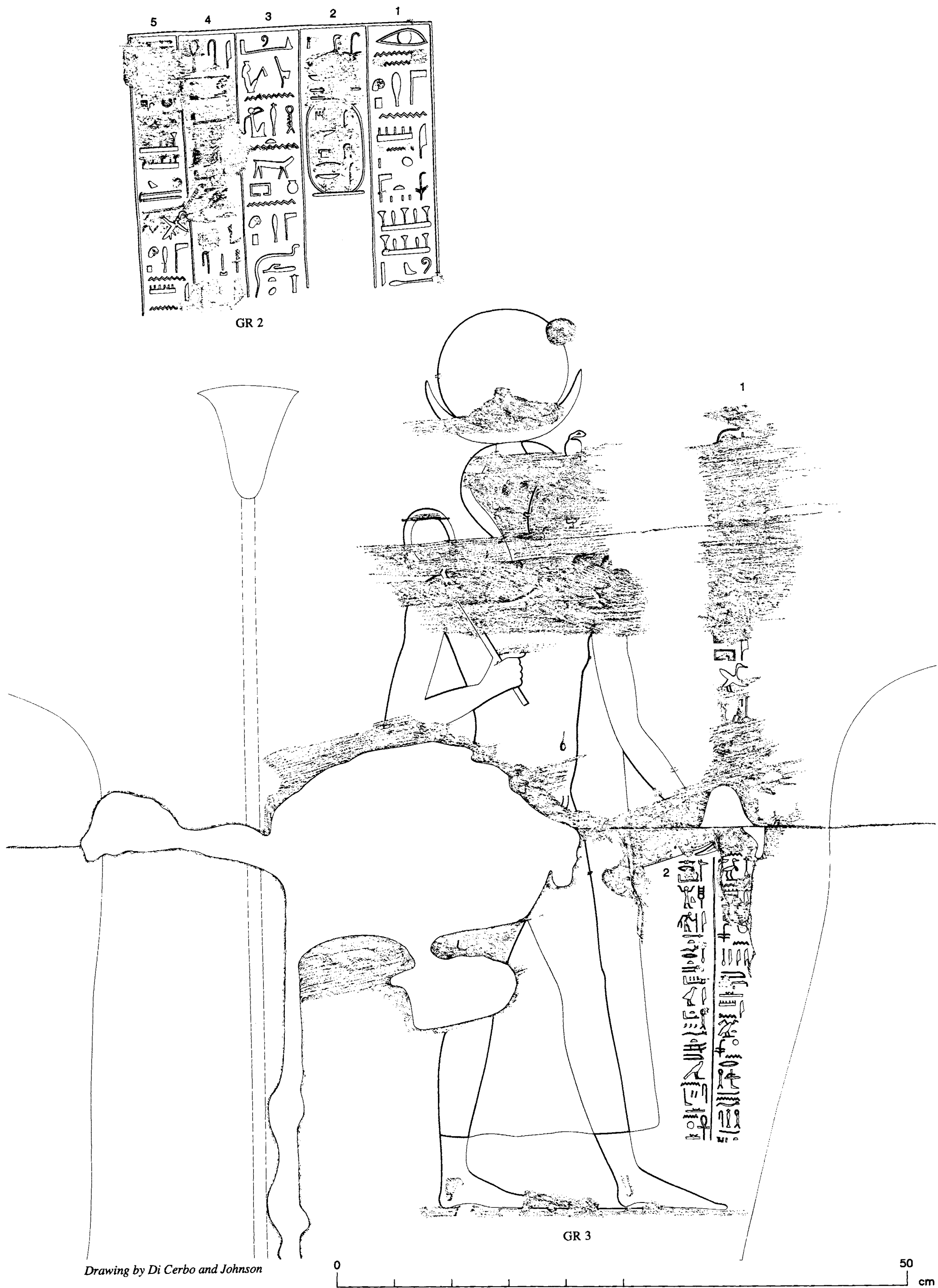
Drawing by Di Cerbo and Johnson

THE PINUDJEM TABLEAU (GR. 1)
FACADE, EAST WALL
(See plate 199)



Photograph by Kobylecky

THE HIEROGLYPHIC GRAFFITI BEFORE THE GODDESS MUT (GR. 2-3)
FACADE, EAST WALL
(Compare plate 202)



THE HIEROGLYPHIC GRAFFITI BEFORE THE GODDESS MUT (GR. 2-3)
 FACADE, EAST WALL
 (See plate 201)



Photograph by Turner
Drawing by Di Cerbo



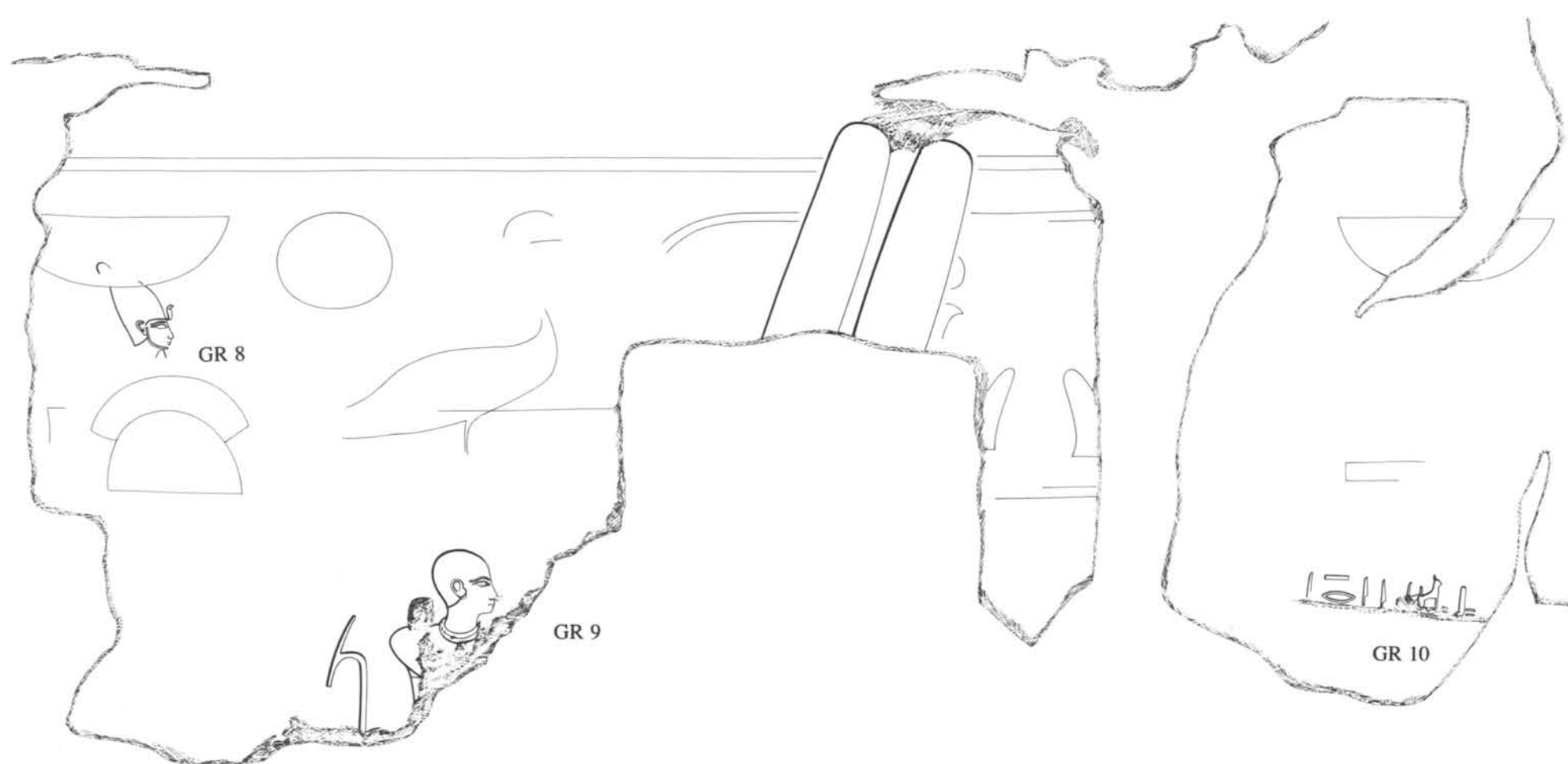
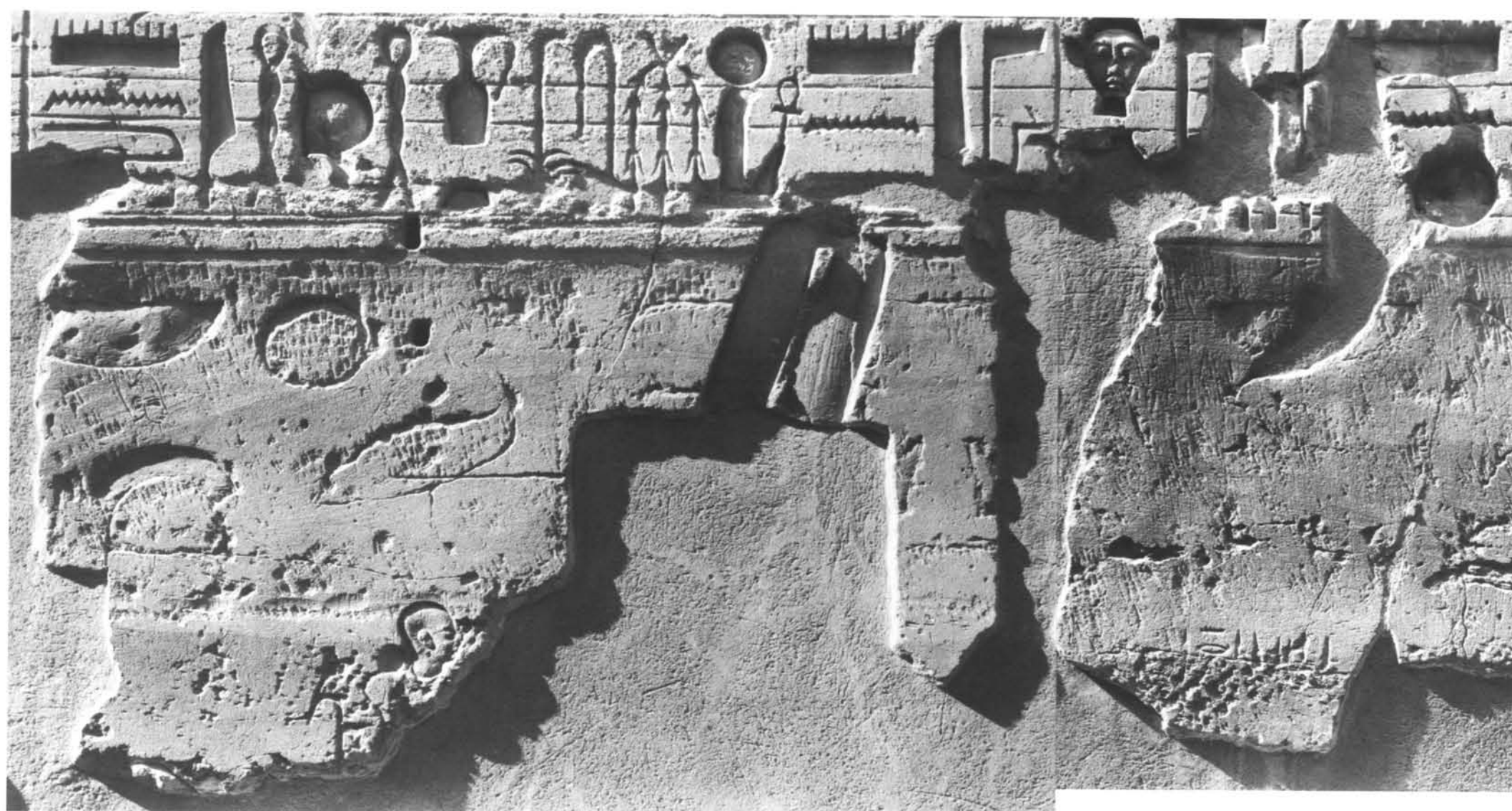
GR 4



GR 5



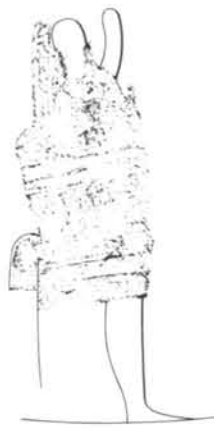
GRAFFITI OF AMUN-RE-KAMUTEF AND MUT (GR. 4-5)
FACADE, EAST WALL



Photograph by Kobylecky
Drawing by Di Cerbo



GRAFFITI EAST OF THE TABLEAU OF PINUDJEM (GR. 8-10)
FACADE, EAST WALL



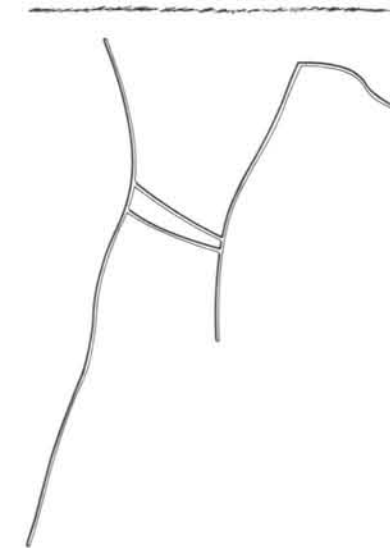
GR 11



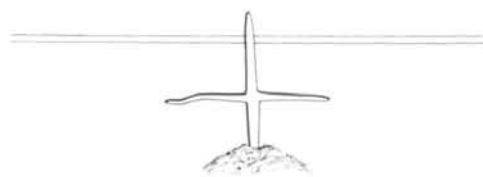
GR 12



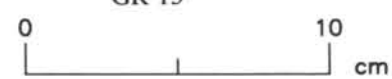
GR 13



GR 14



GR 15



GR 16



GR 17

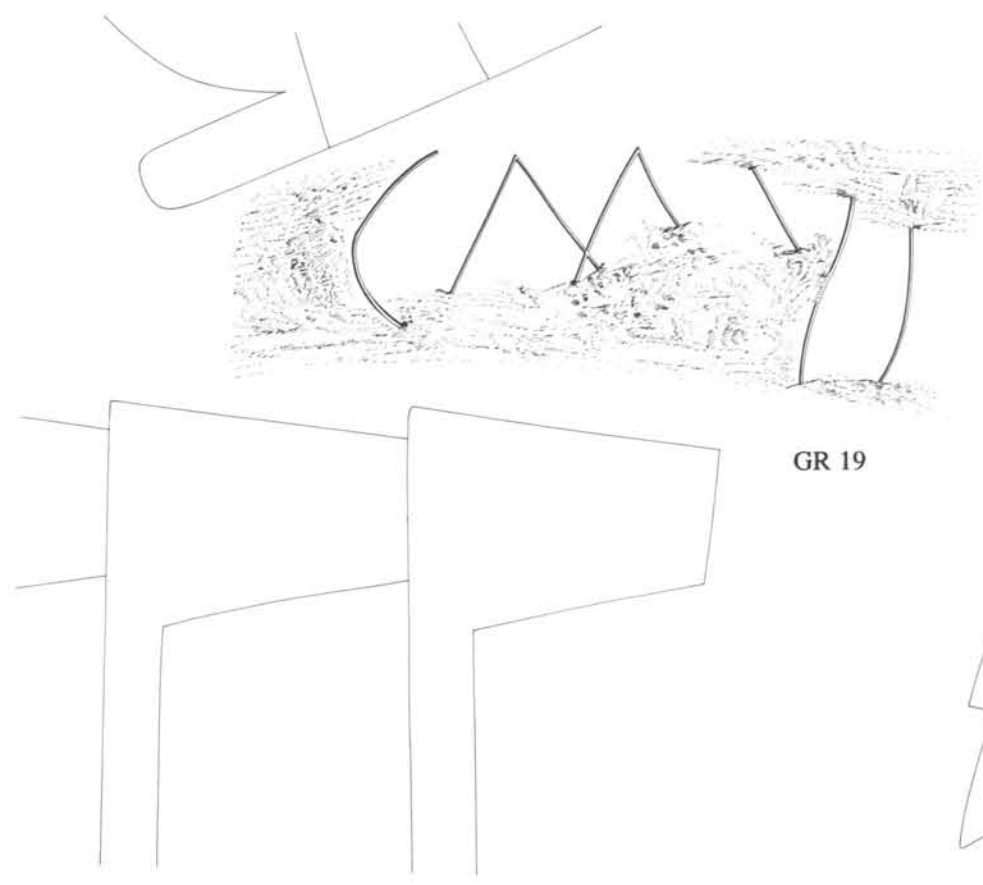


GR 17

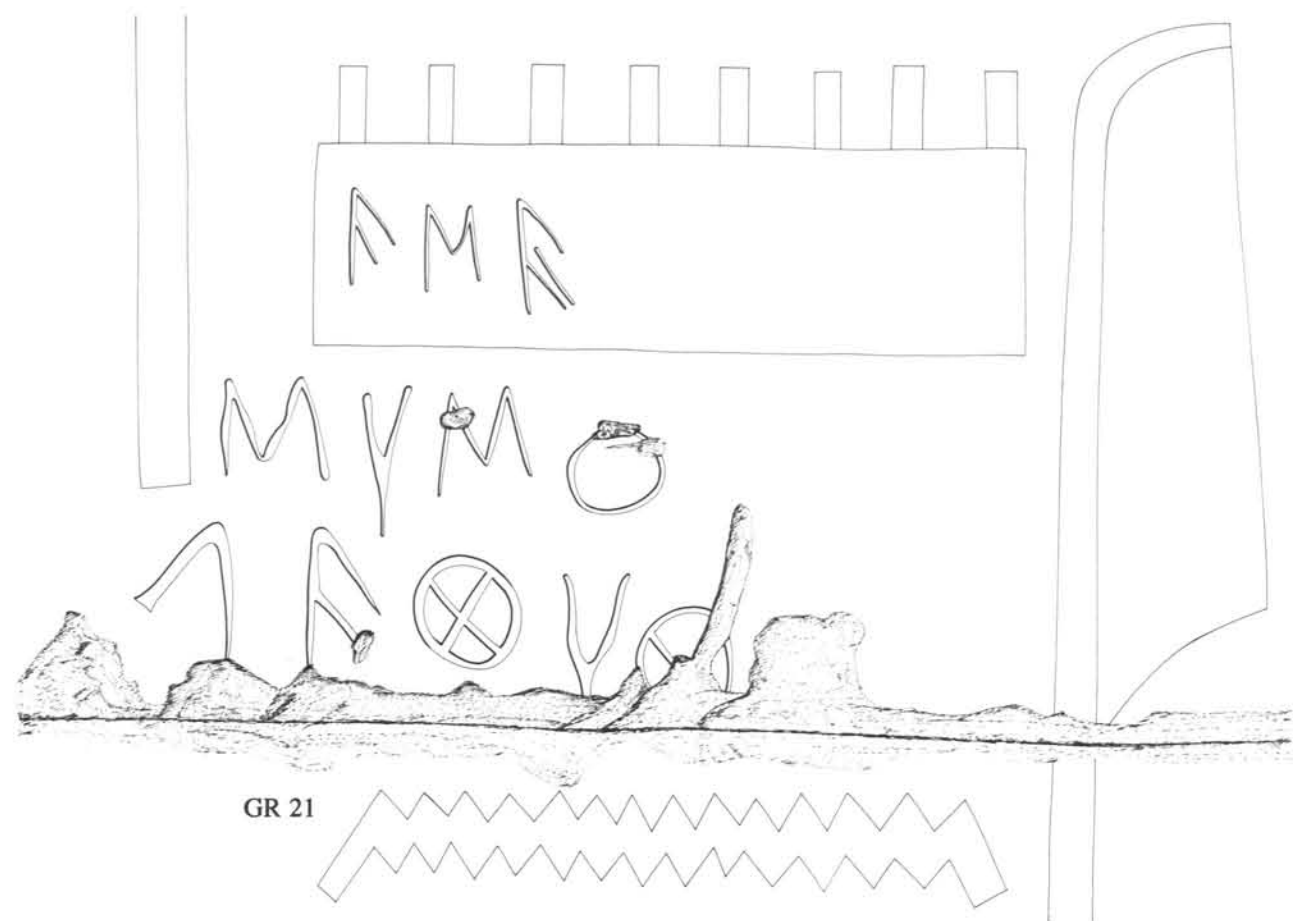
Photograph by Lezon
Drawings by Di Cerbo



MISCELLANEOUS FACADE GRAFFITI BELOW THE RAMESSIDE ROOFLINE (GR. 11-17)
FACADE, EAST AND WEST WALLS



GR 19

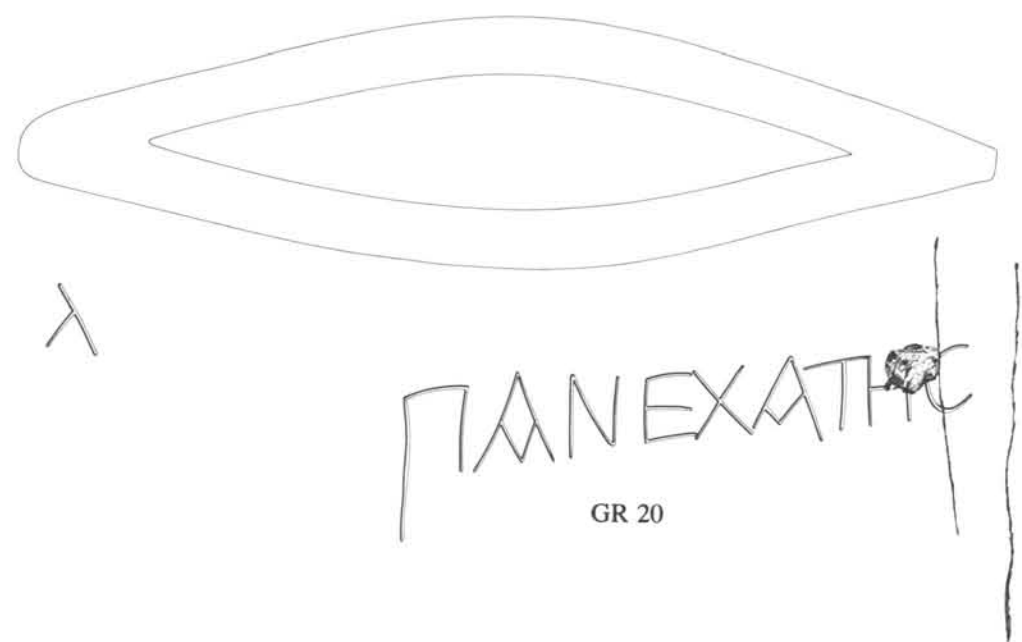


GR 21



GR 23

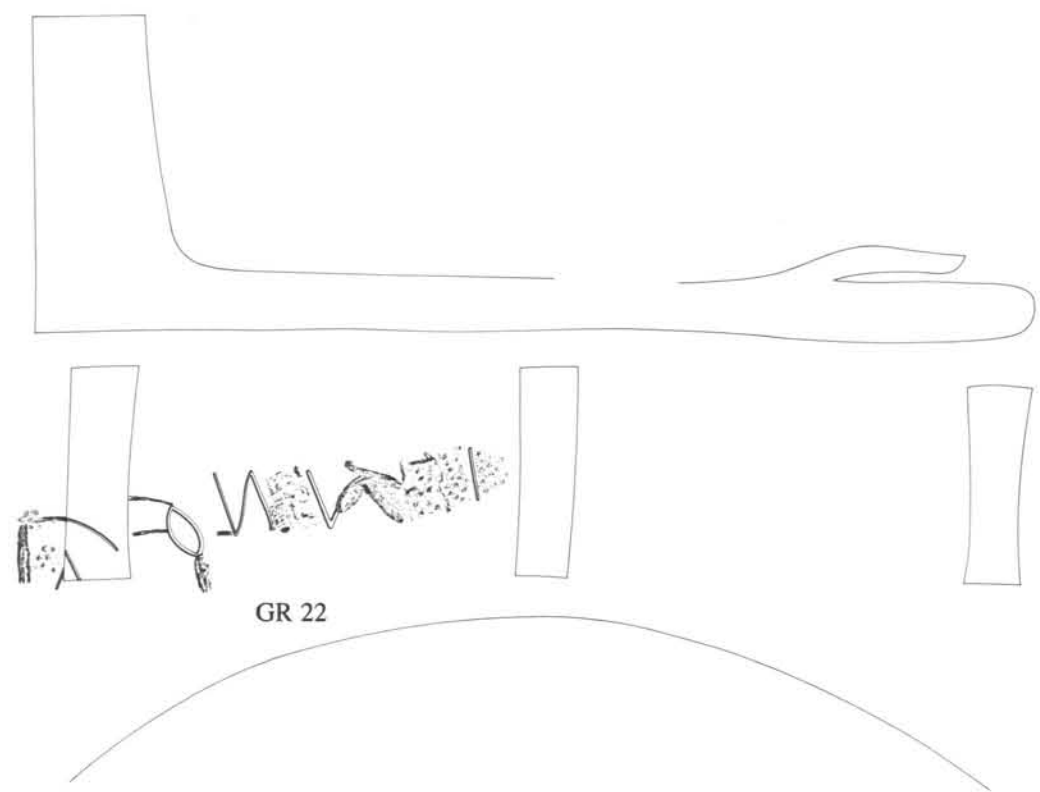
GR 24



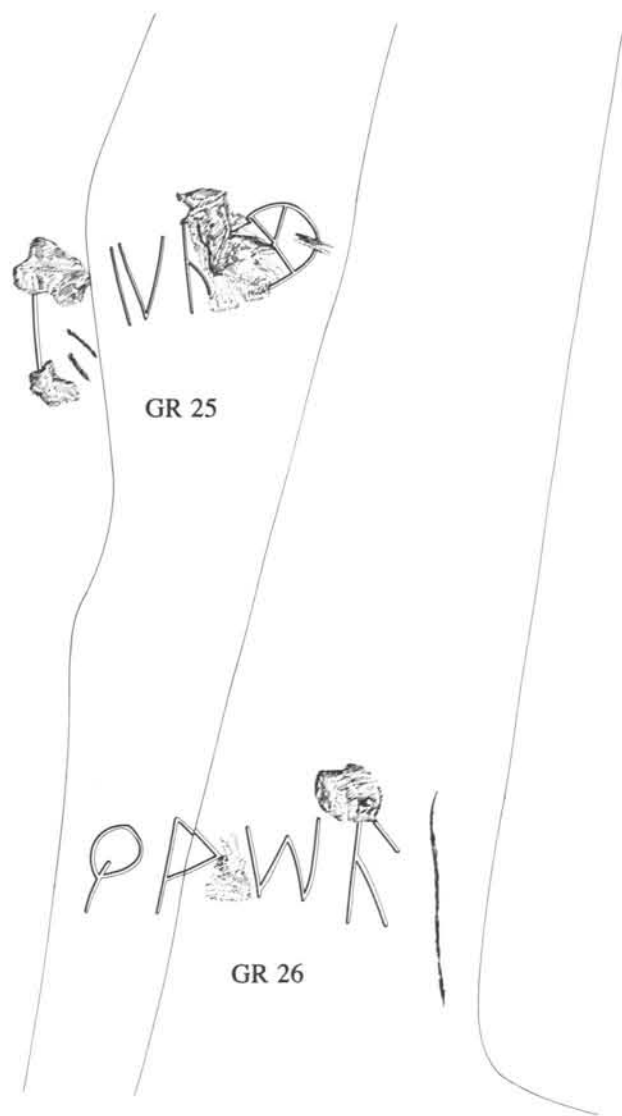
GR 20



Photograph by Lezon
Drawings by Di Cerbo

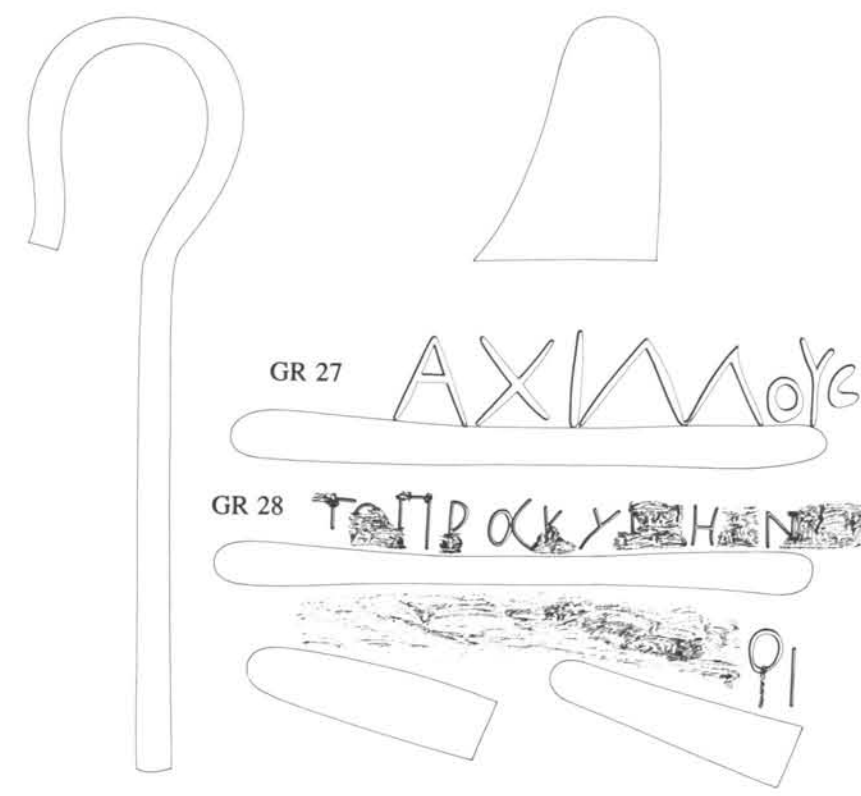


GR 22



GR 25

GR 26

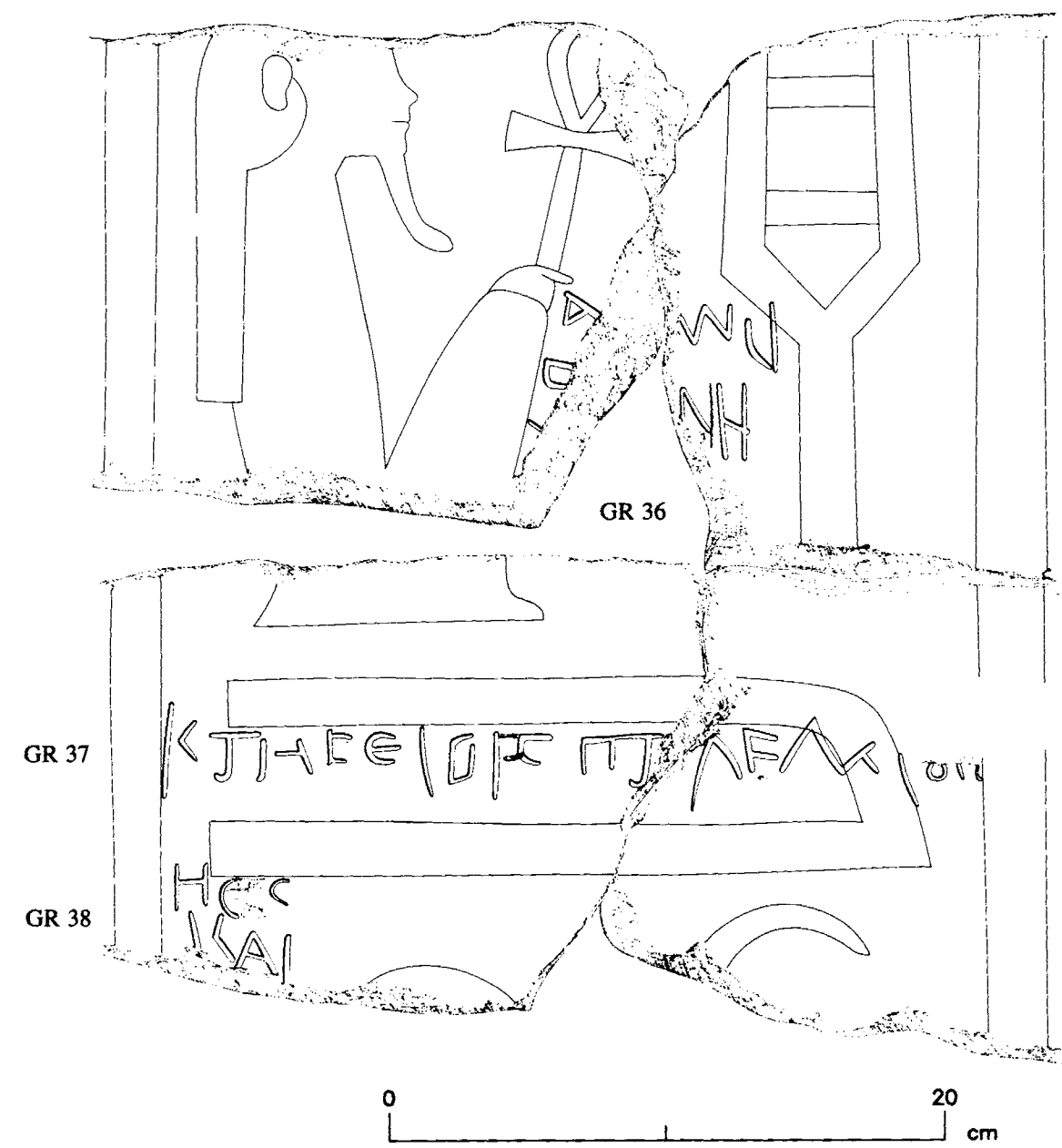
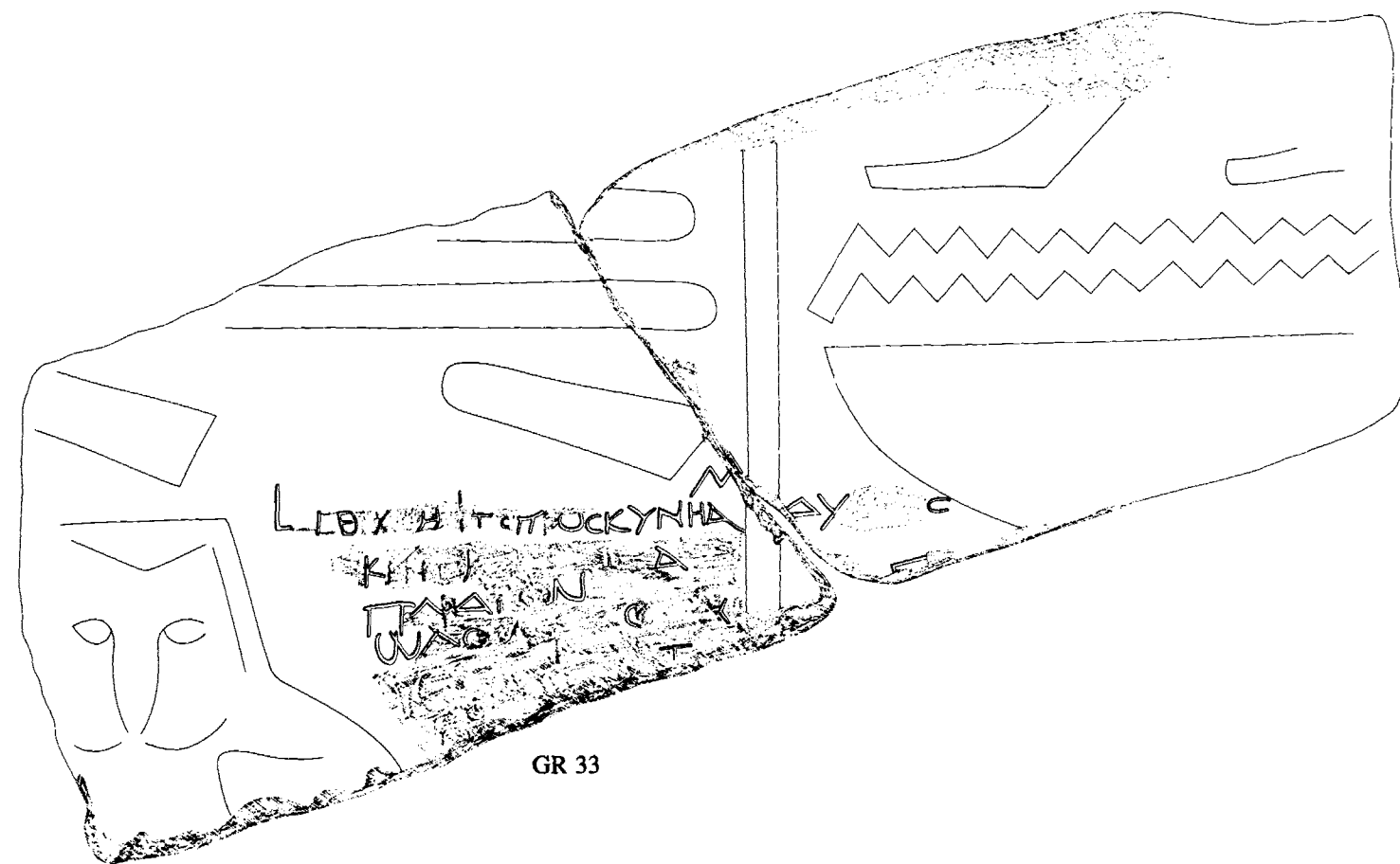
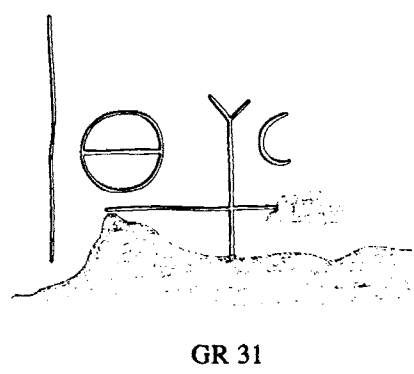
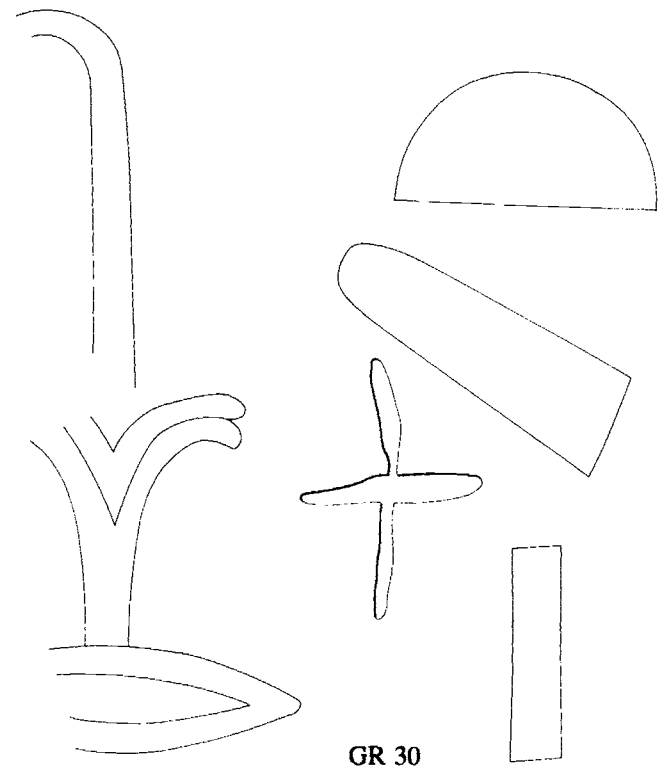
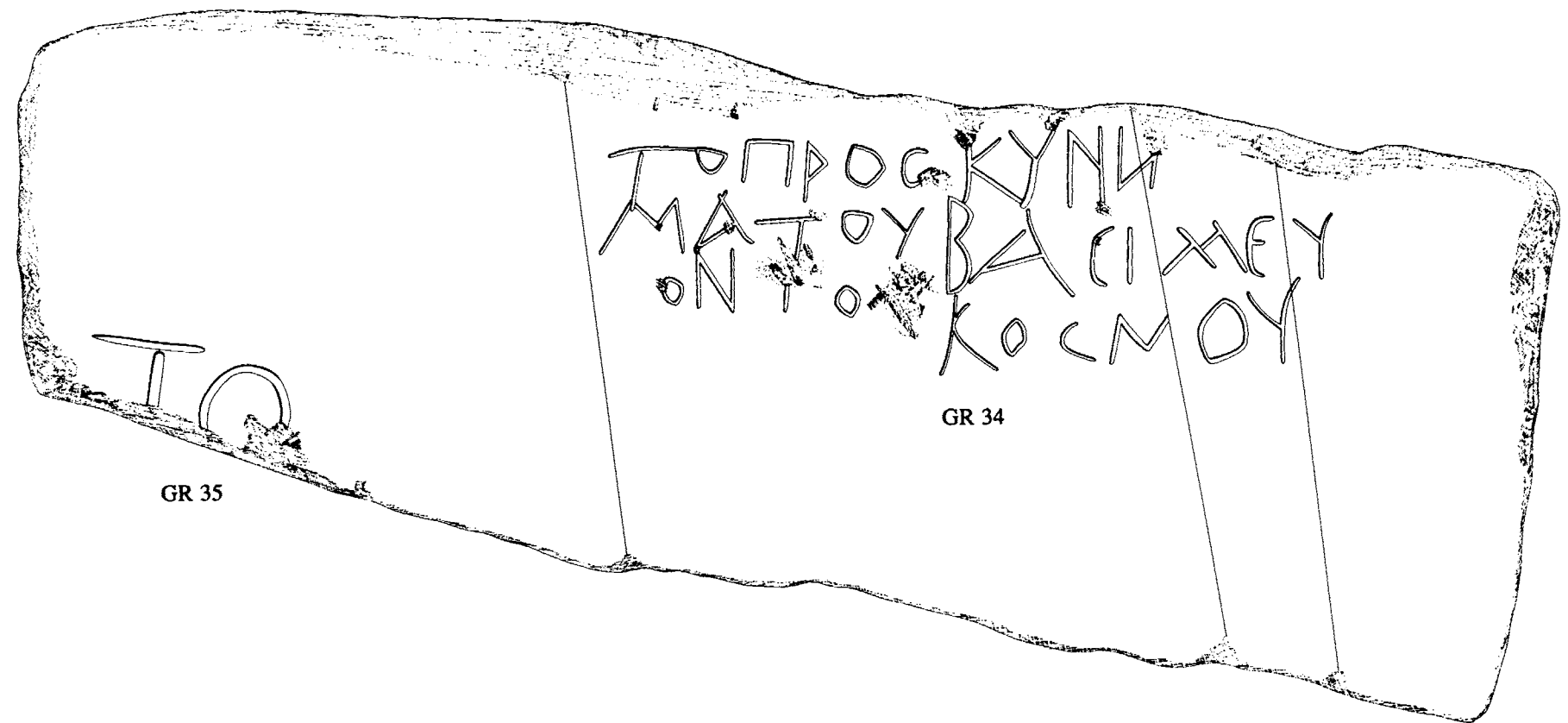
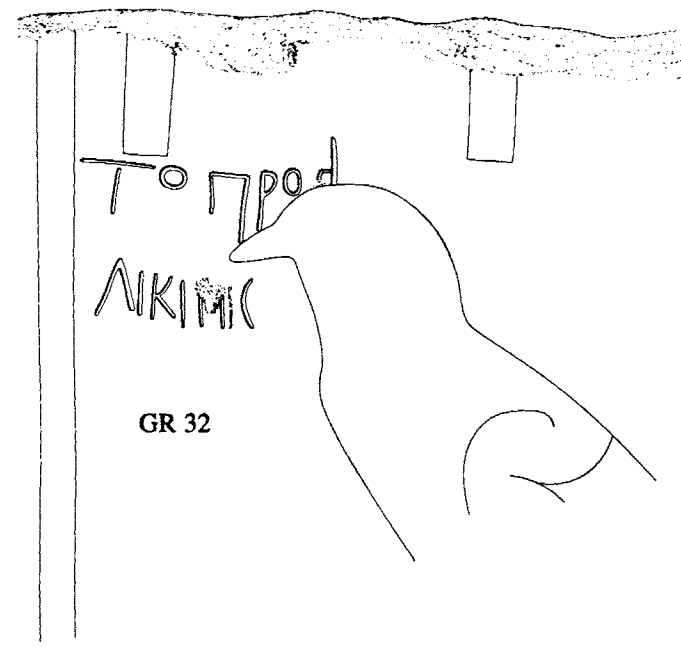
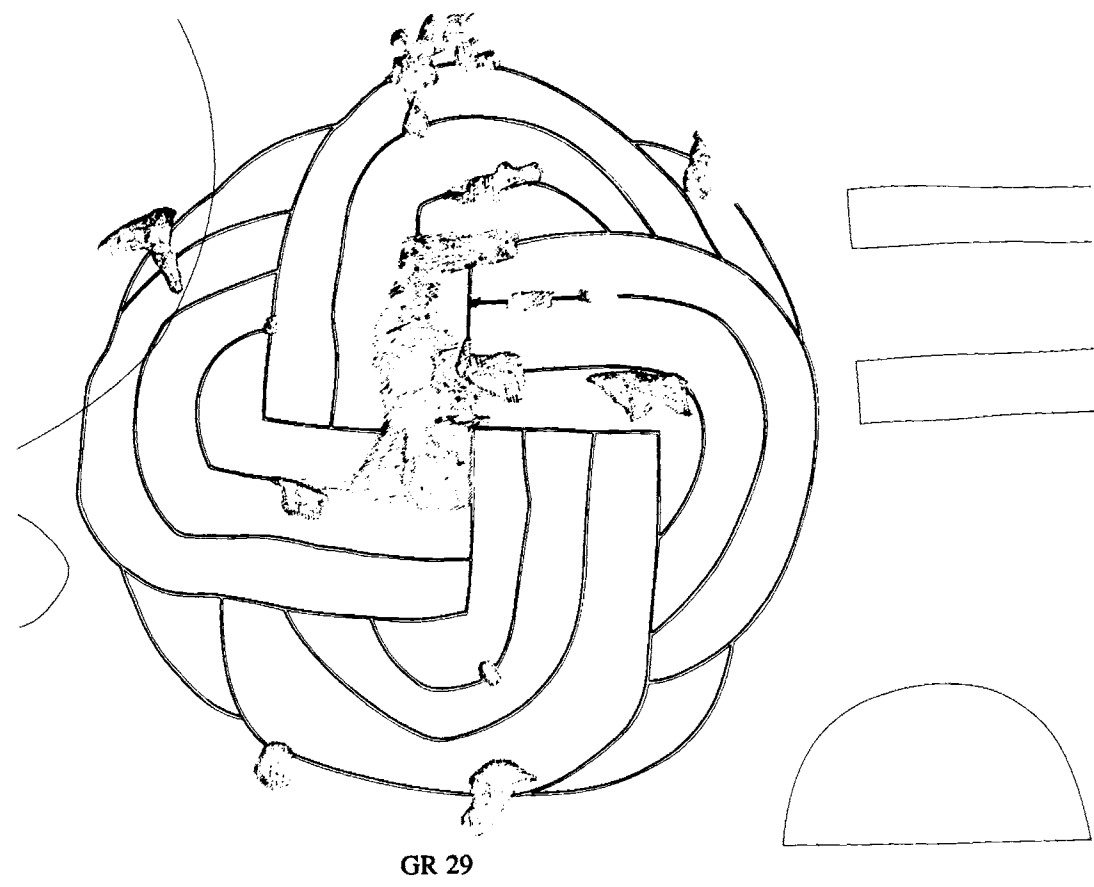


GR 27

GR 28

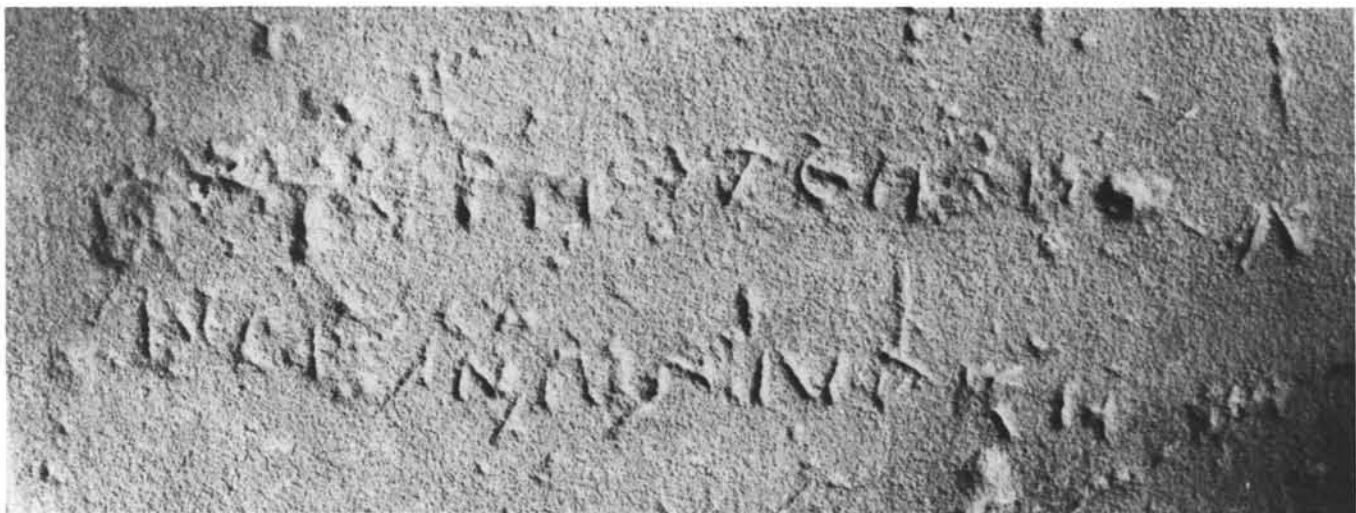
0 20 cm

CARIAN AND GREEK GRAFFITI FROM THE EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH FACADE (GR. 19-28)
FACADE, EAST WALL



Drawings by Di Cerbo

GRAFFITI FROM THE UPPER REGISTERS OF THE NORTH FACADE (GR. 29-38)
FACADE, EAST AND WEST WALLS



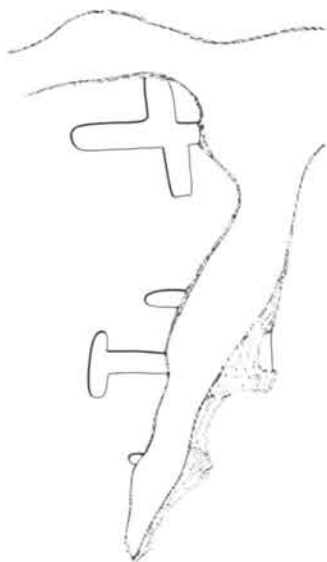
GR 39



GR 39



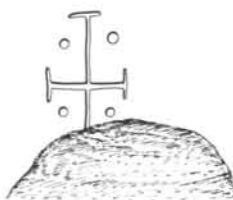
GR 40



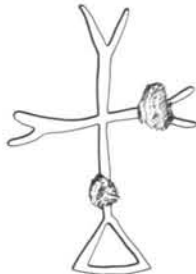
GR 41



GR 42



GR 43



GR 44

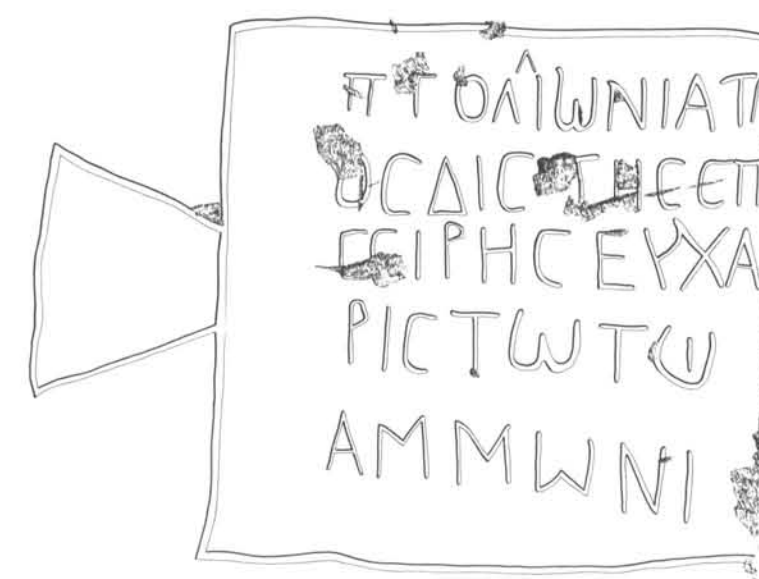
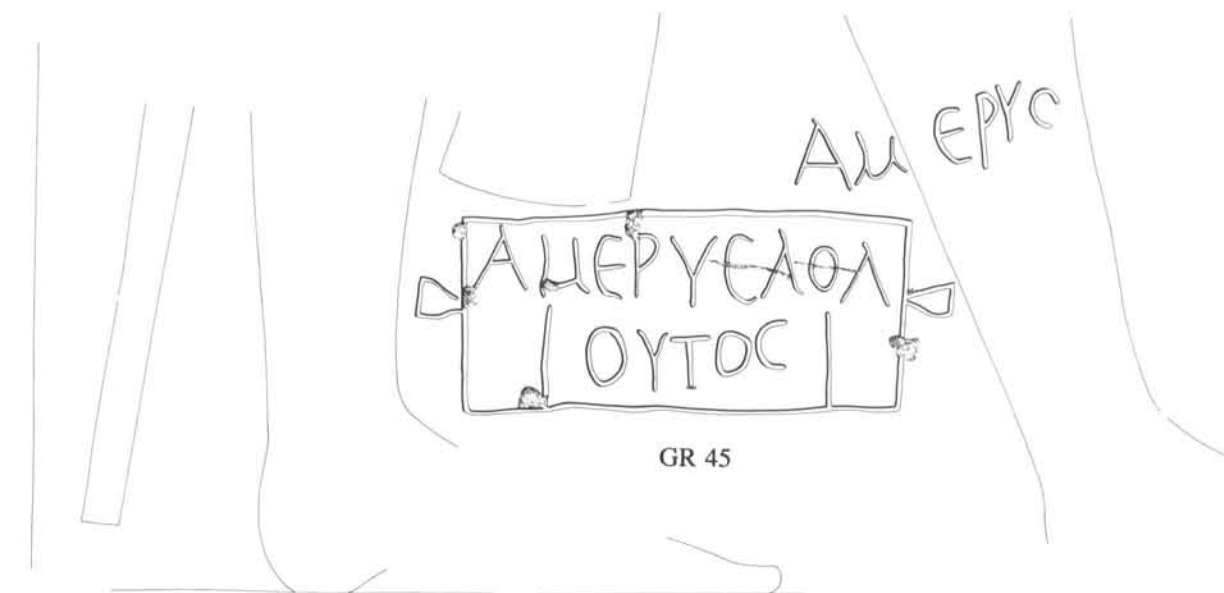
Photograph by Kobylecky
Drawings by Di Cerbo



GRAFFITI IN THE EAST AND WEST THICKNESSES OF THE NORTH PORTAL OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 39-44)
NORTH PORTAL, EAST AND WEST THICKNESSES



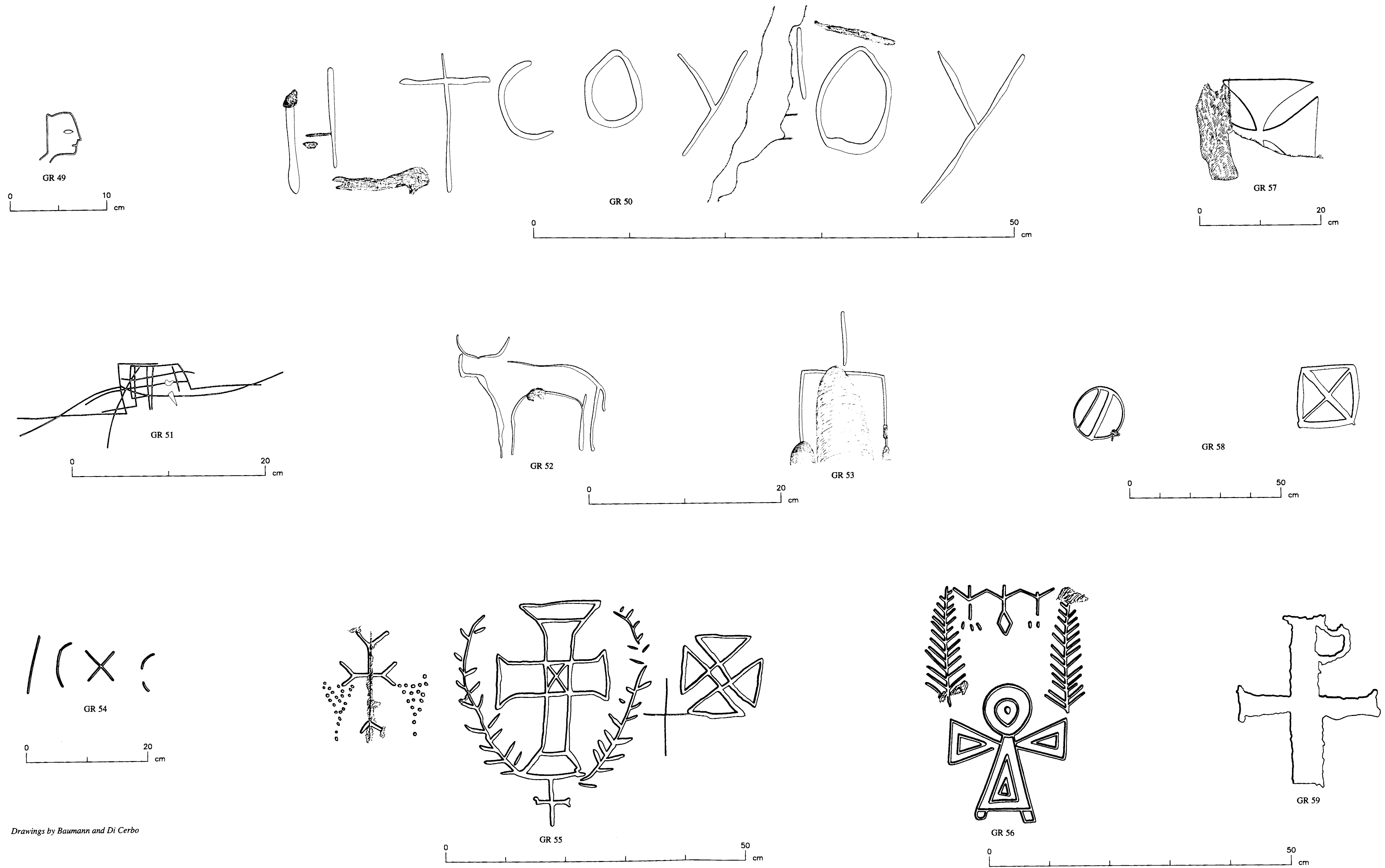
Photograph by The Epigraphic Survey
Drawing by Di Cerbo



GR 47



GREEK GRAFFITI AT THE BOTTOM OF THE EAST INTERIOR JAMB OF THE NORTH PORTAL (GR. 45-47)
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER

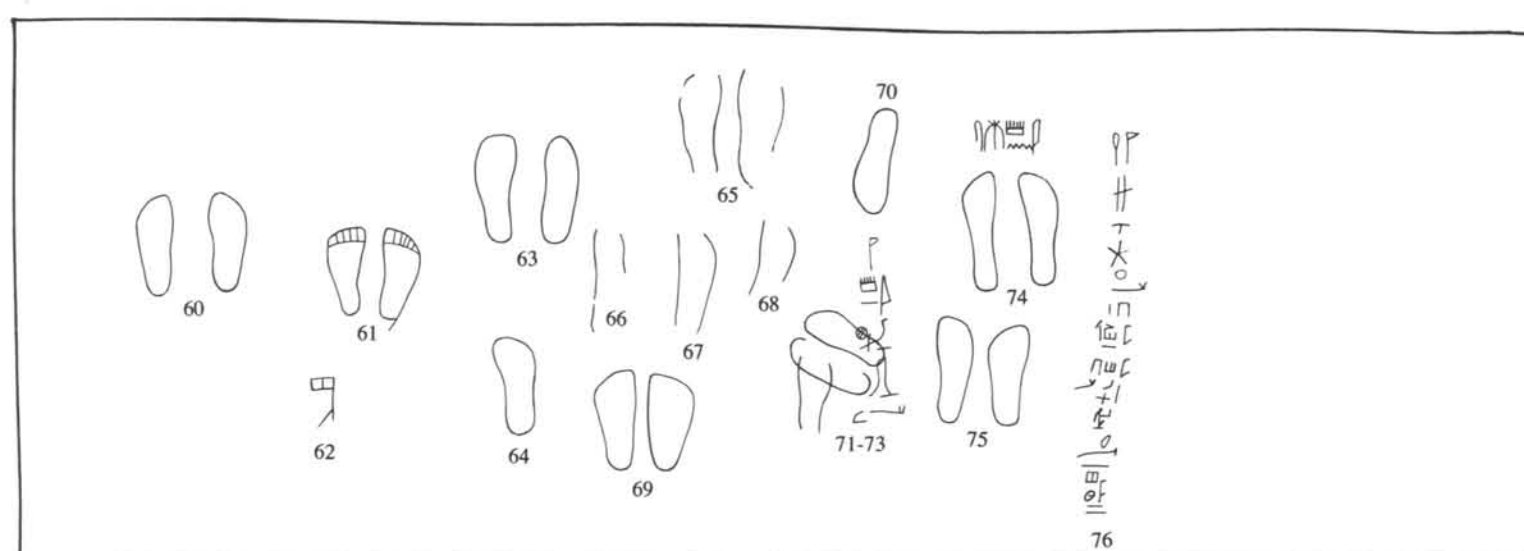


Drawings by Baumann and Di Cerbo

GRAFFITI FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 49-59)



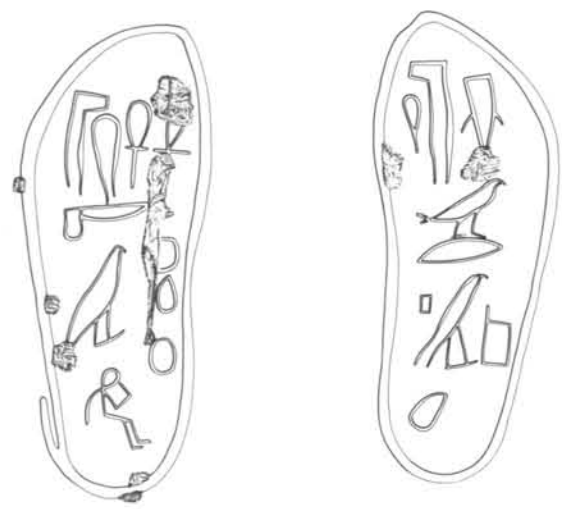
A



Photograph by Kobylecky
Drawing by Baumann and Di Cerbo

B

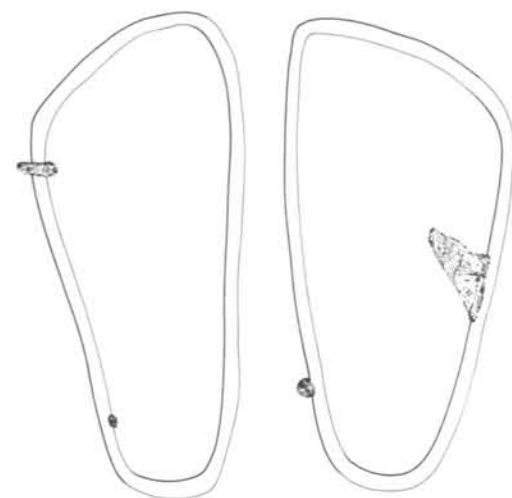
A. A FRAGMENT OF A ROOFING BLOCK OF THE COLONNADE HALL, NOW IN THE NORTHWEST CORNER
OF THE SUN COURT OF AMENHOTEP III
B. DRAWING SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF GRAFFITI ON THE ROOFING BLOCK
(Compare plate 212)



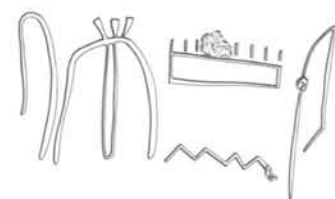
GR 60



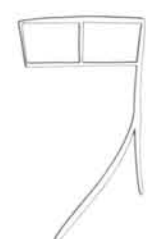
GR 66



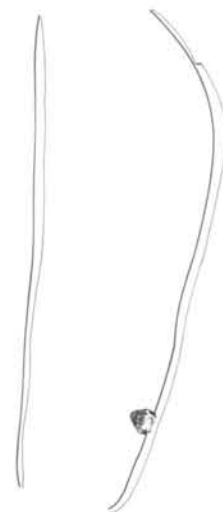
GR 69



GR 61



GR 62



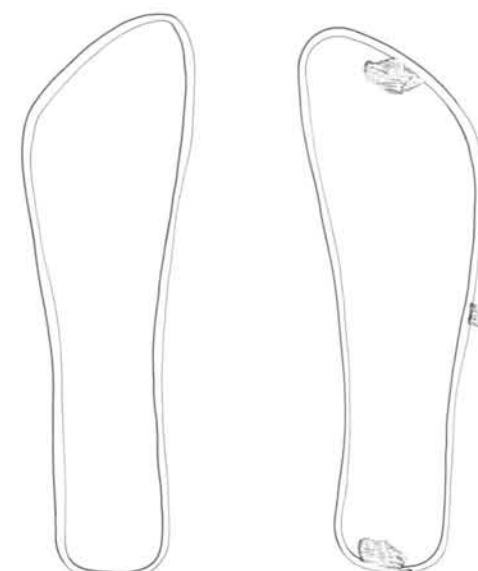
GR 67



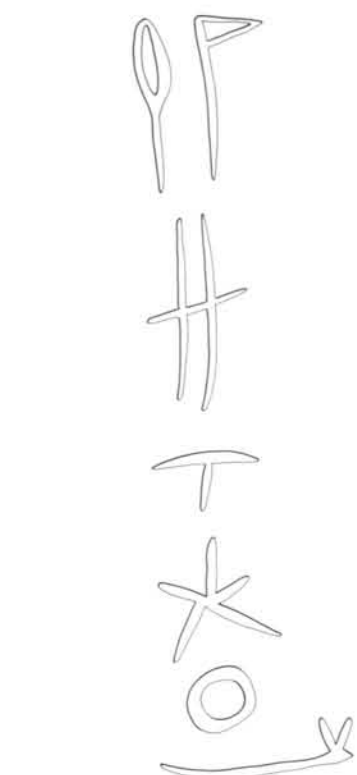
GR 68



GR 70



GR 74



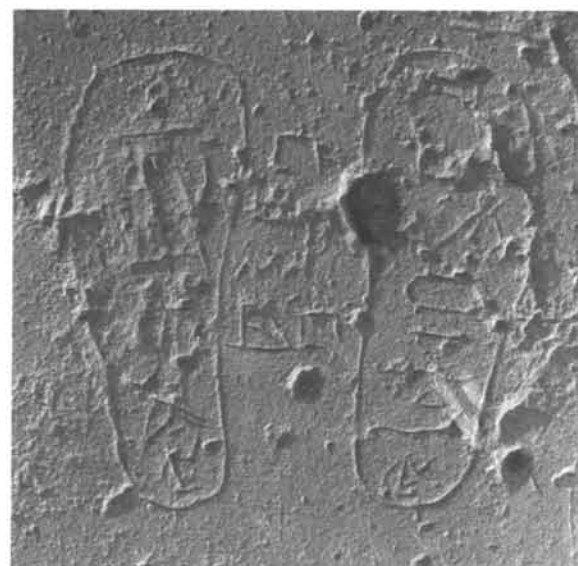
GR 76



GR 77



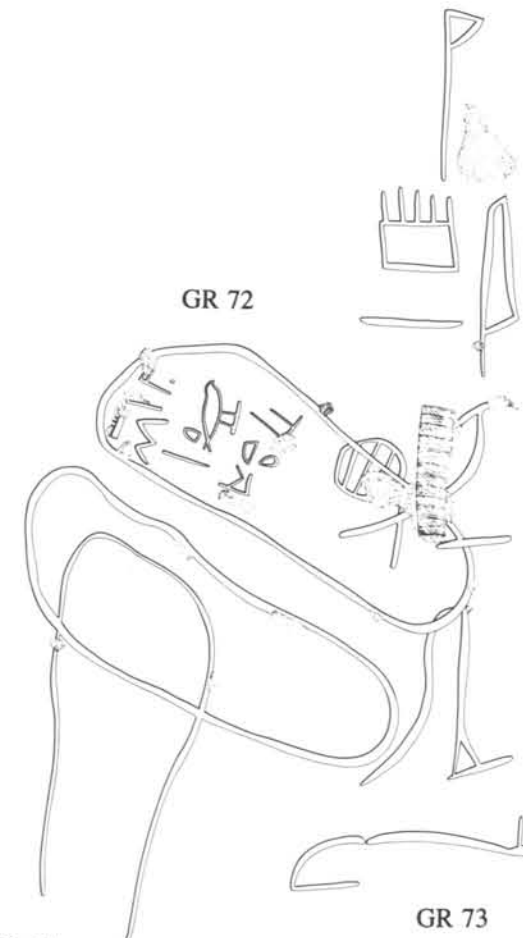
GR 63



GR 64

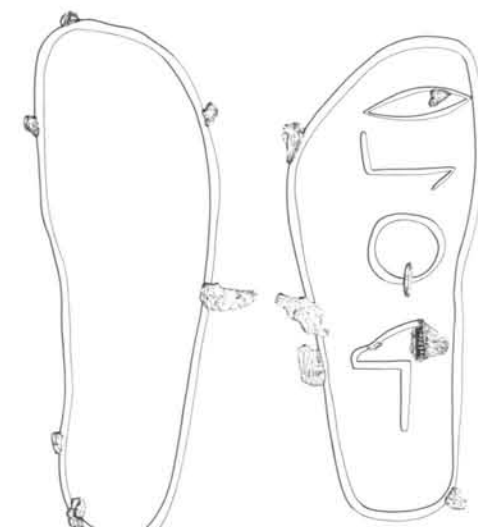


GR 65



GR 71

GR 73



GR 75

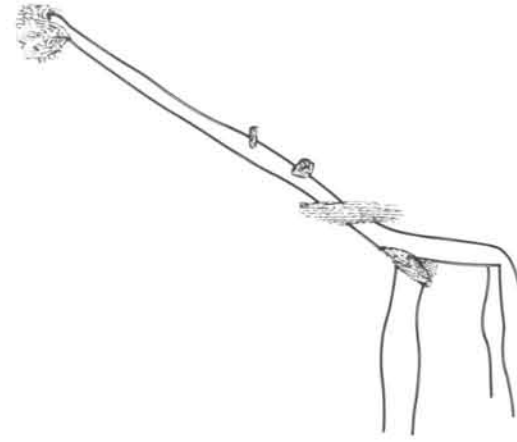
Photographs by Kobylecky
Drawings by Baumann and Di Cerbo

GRAFFITI ON A ROOFING BLOCK IN THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE SUN COURT OF AMENHOTEP III (GR. 60-76)
AND ON A ROOFING BLOCK ATOP THE WEST WALL OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 77-78)
(See plate 211)

0 50 cm



GR 91



GR 92



GR 93

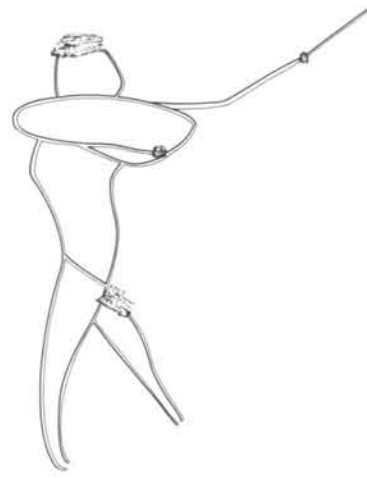


GR 94

Photographs by Kobylecky
Drawings by Di Cerbo



GR 87



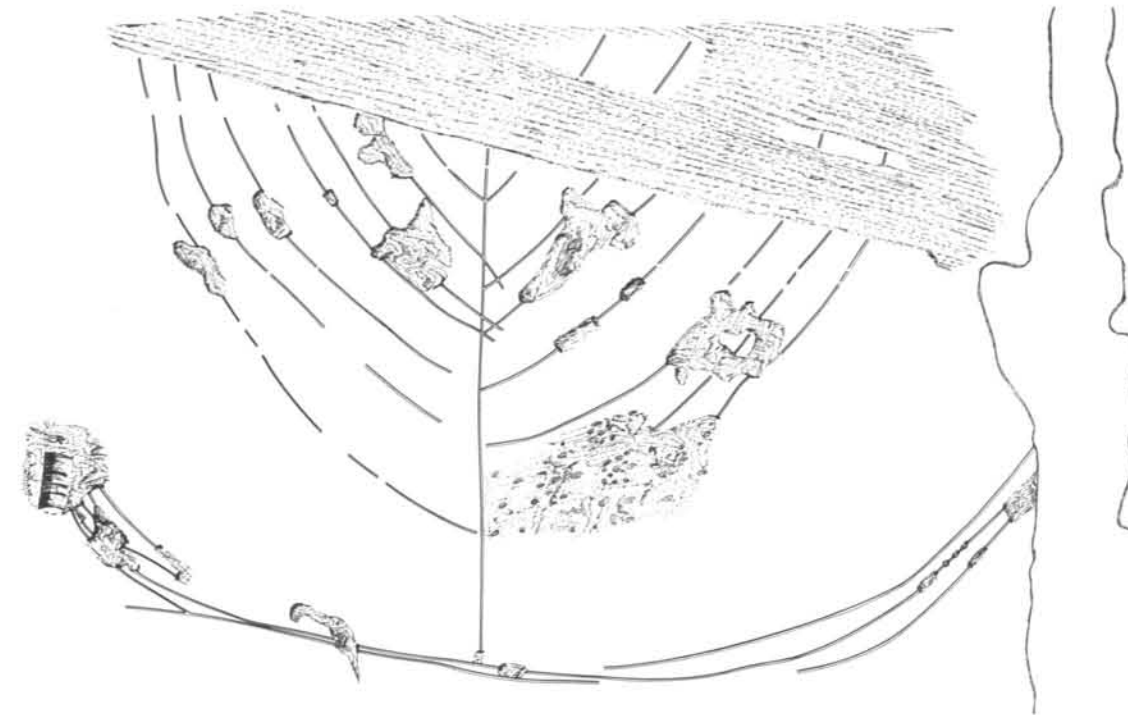
GR 88



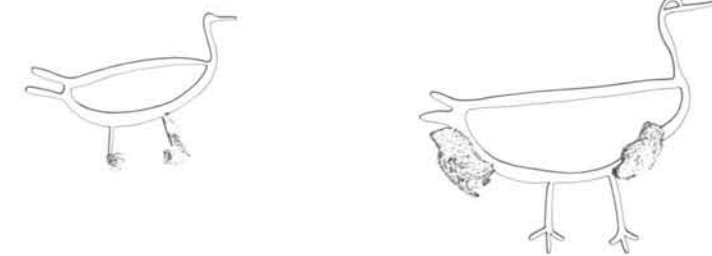
GR 89



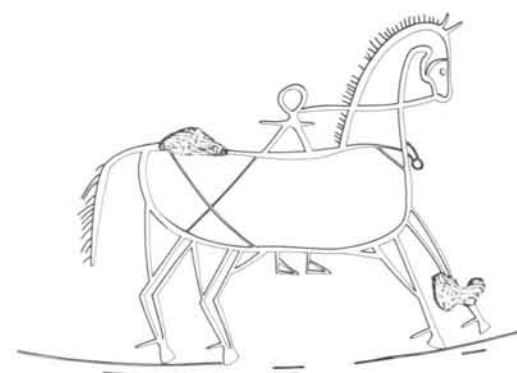
GR 90



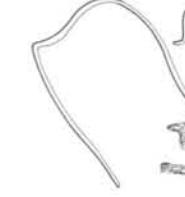
GR 84



GR 85



GR 86



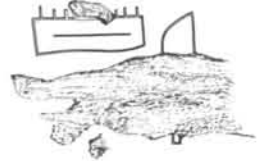
GR 83



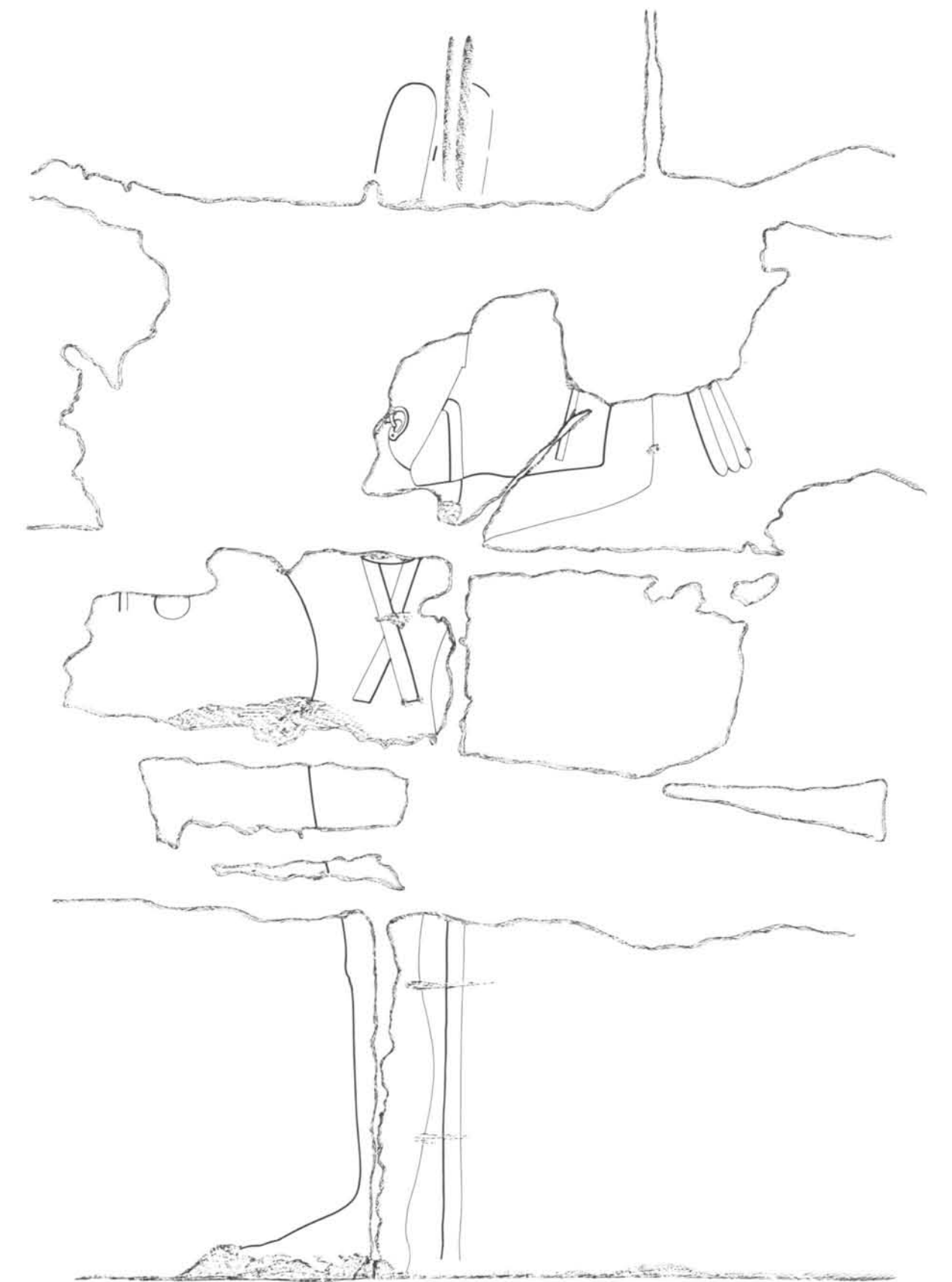
GR 82



GR 81



GR 79



GR 80



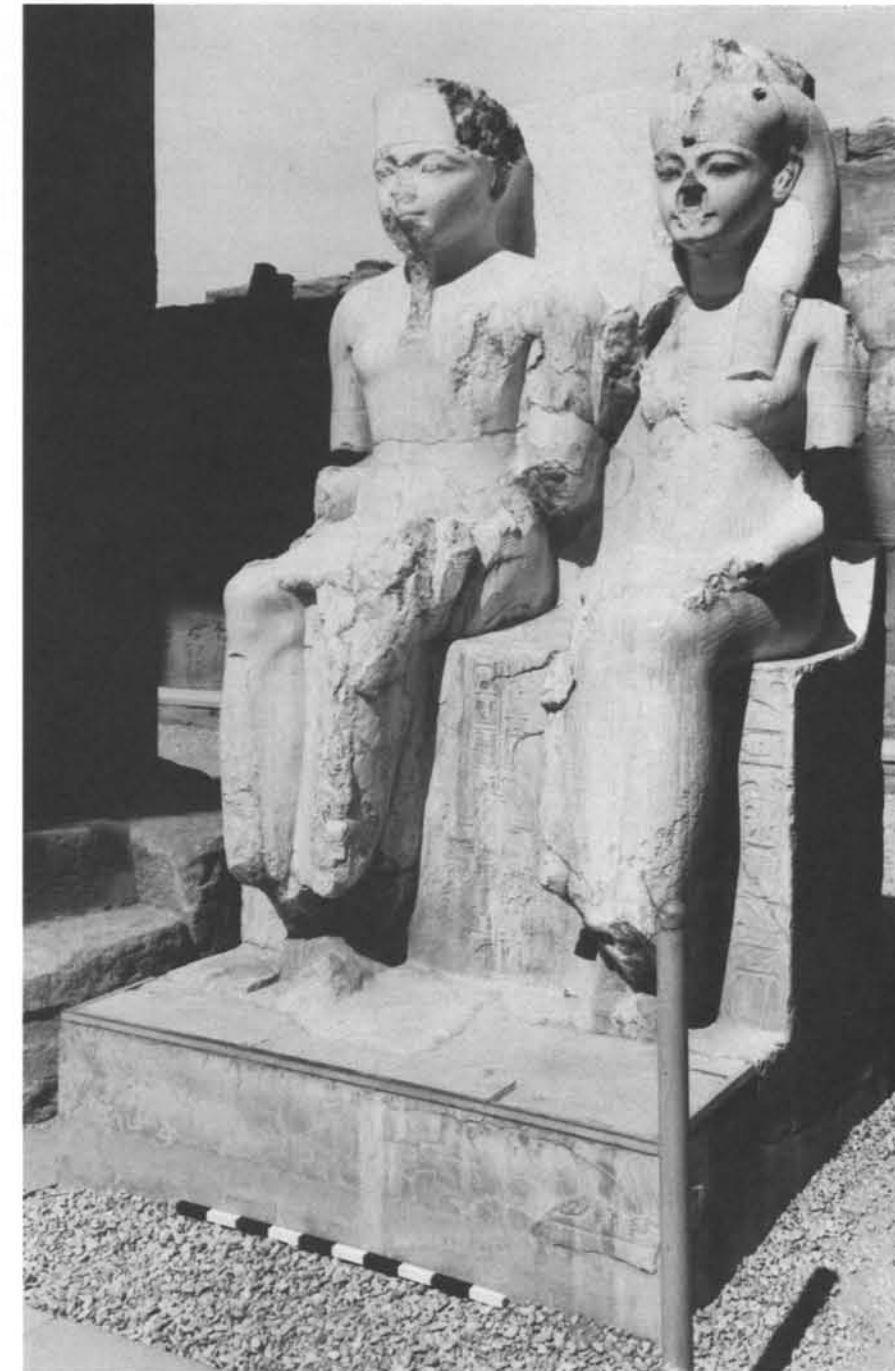
GRAFFITI ON THE WEST EXTERIOR WALL OF THE COLONNADE HALL (GR. 79-94)



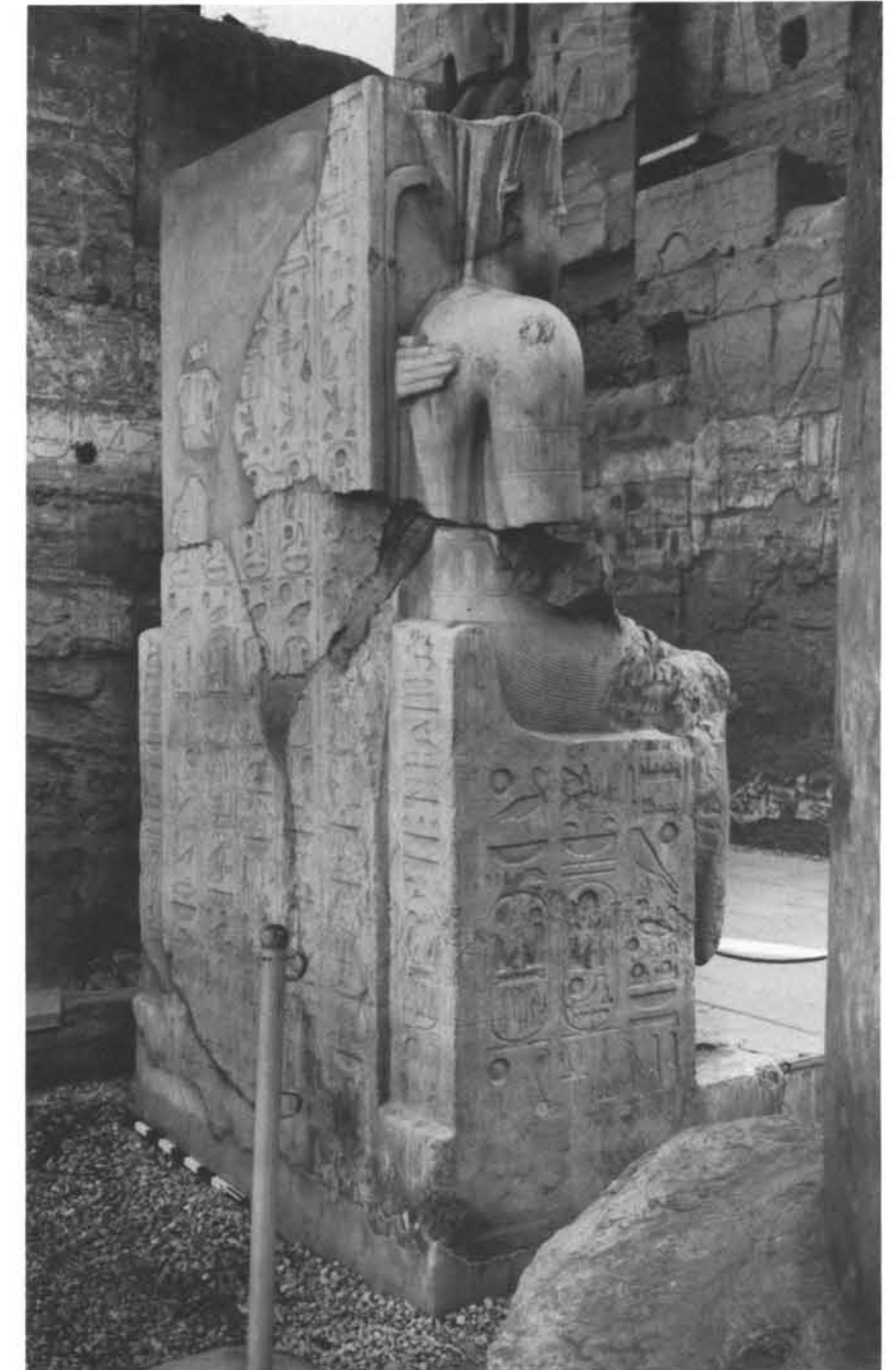
A



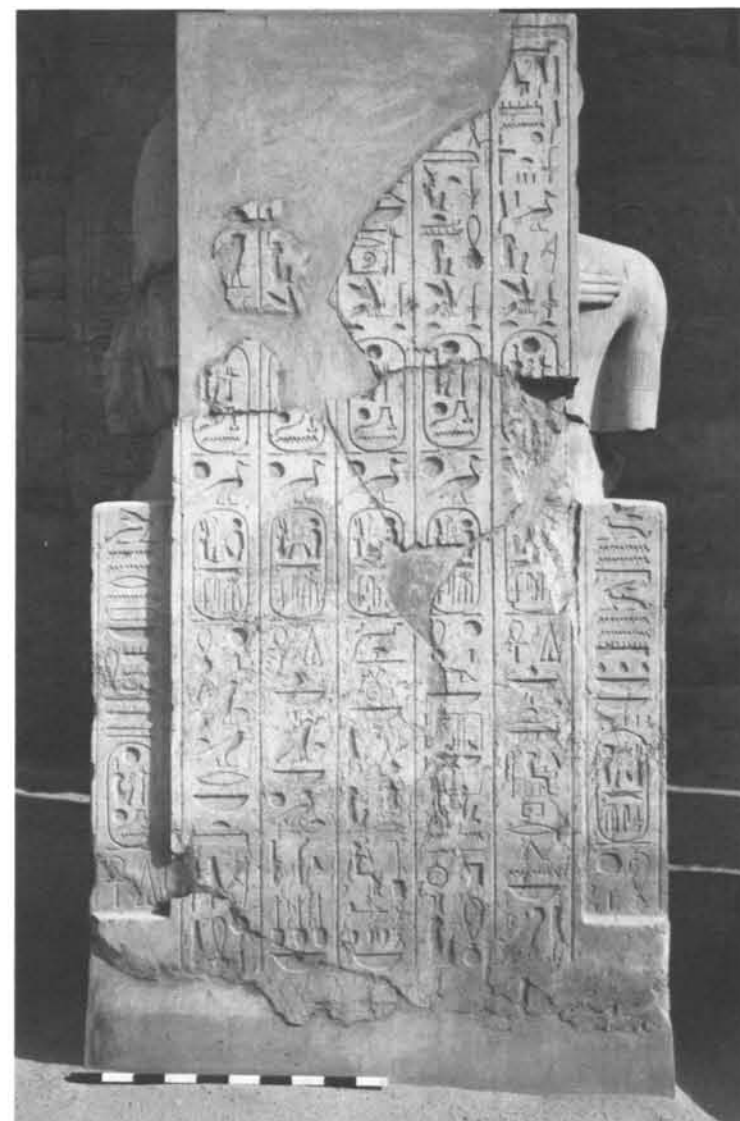
B



C



D



E



F

Photographs by Kobylecky and Van Eynde

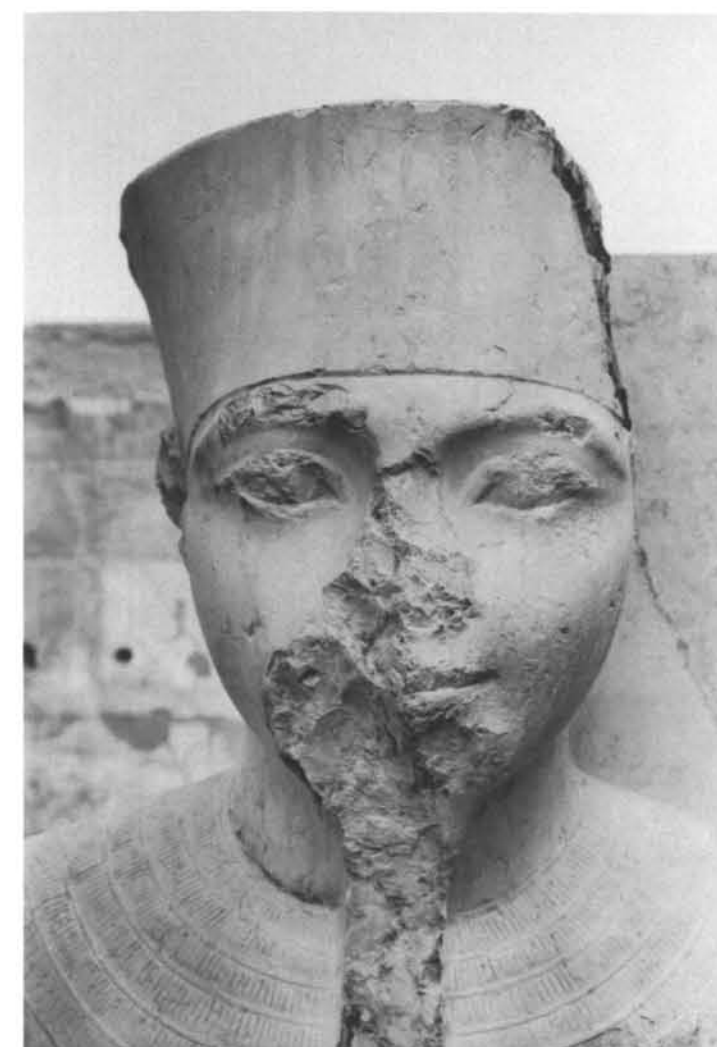
THE LARGE DYAD OF AMUN AND MUT



A



B



C



D



E



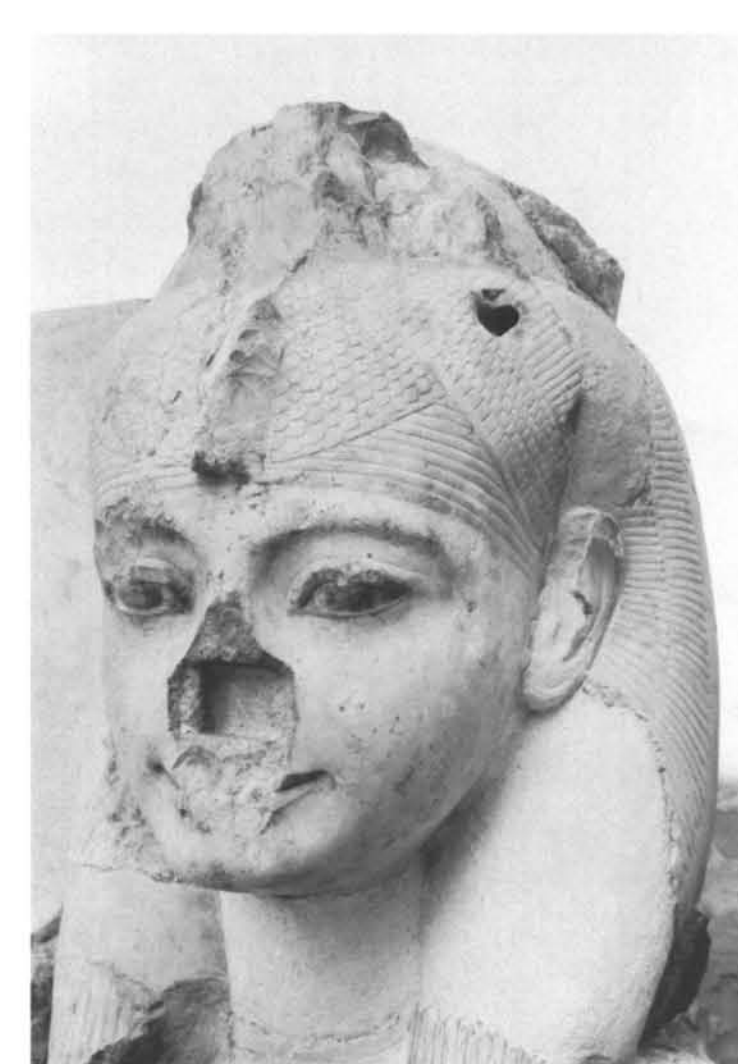
F



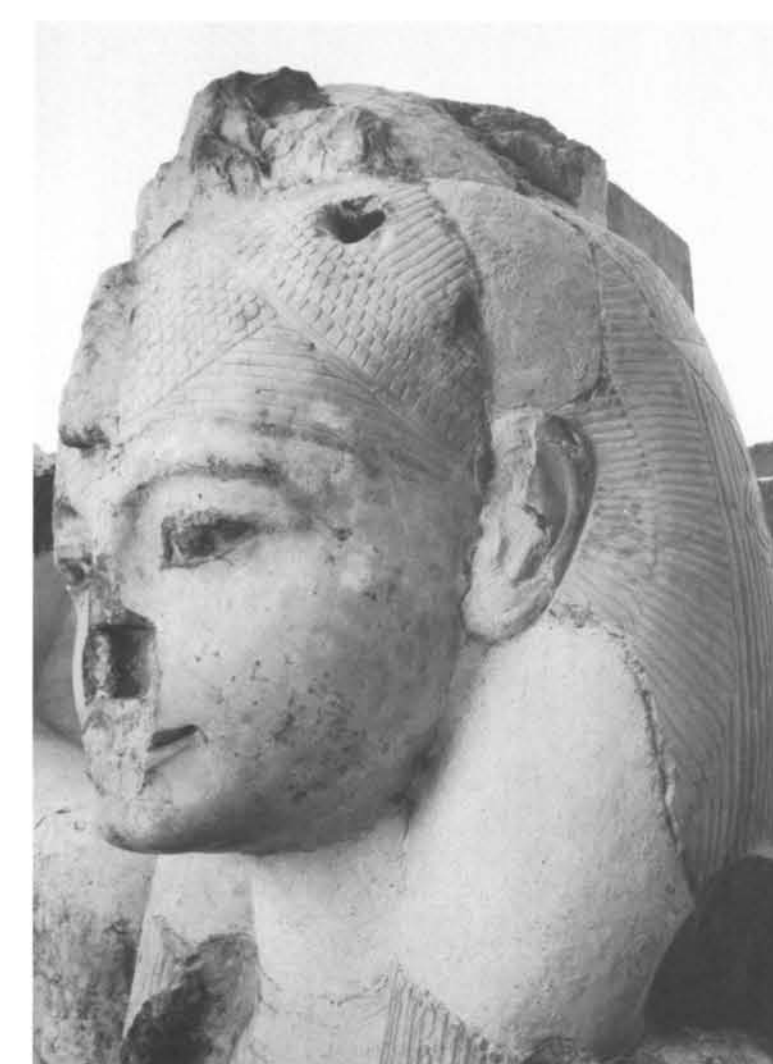
G



H



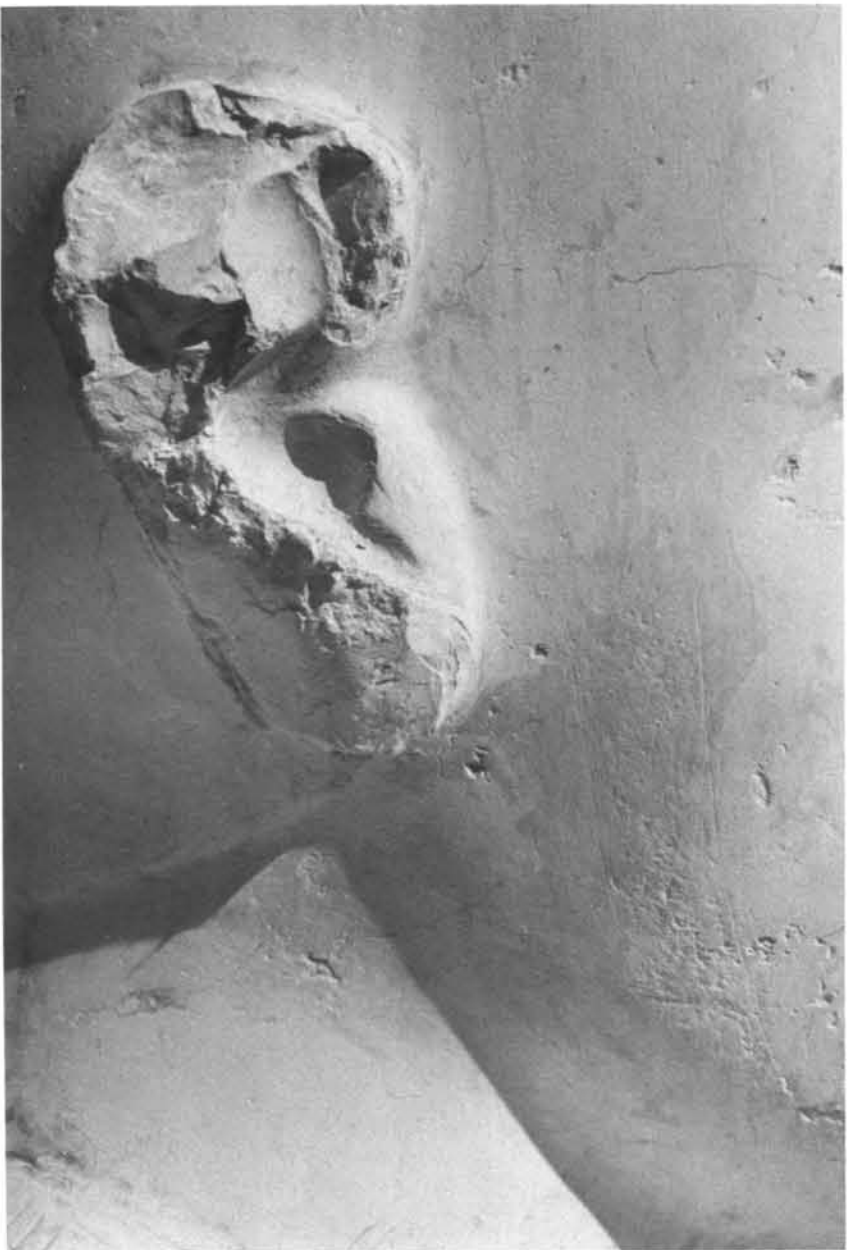
I



J

Photographs by Kobylecky

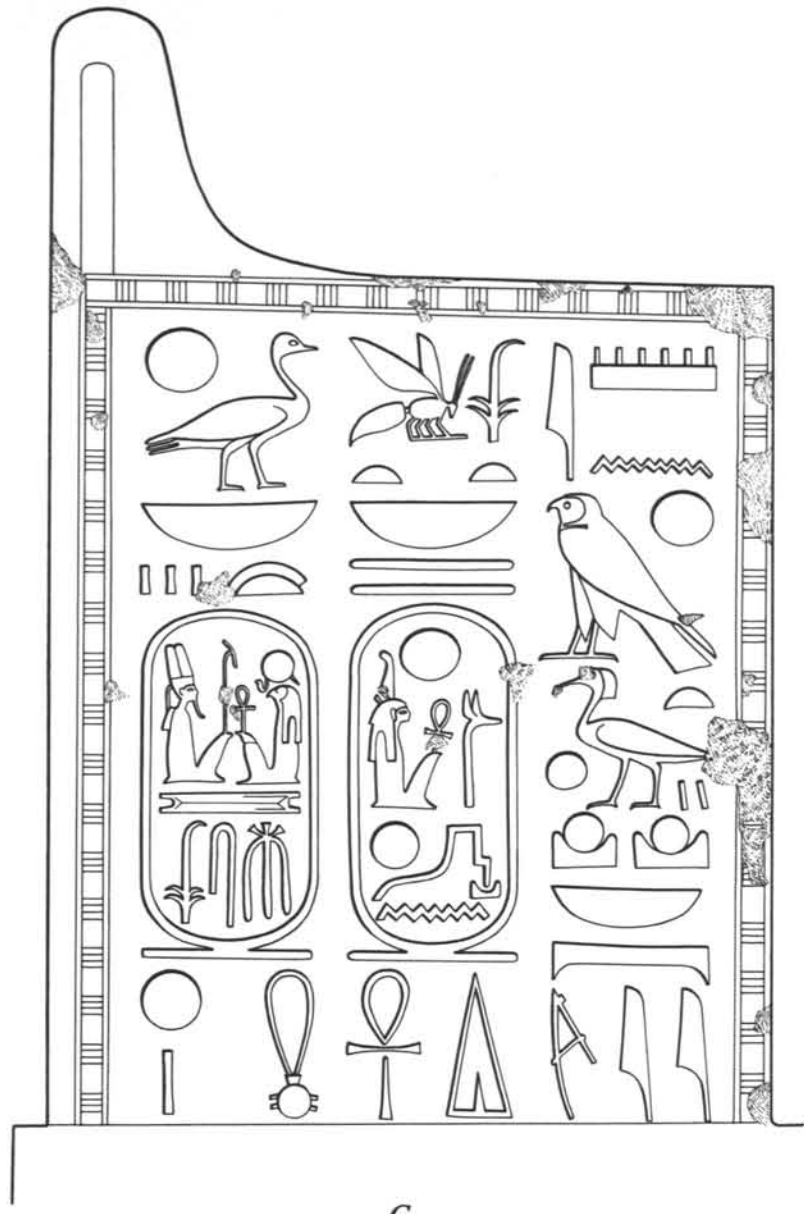
DETAILS OF THE HEAD OF AMUN (A-E) AND THE HEAD OF MUT (F-J) FROM THE LARGE DYAD



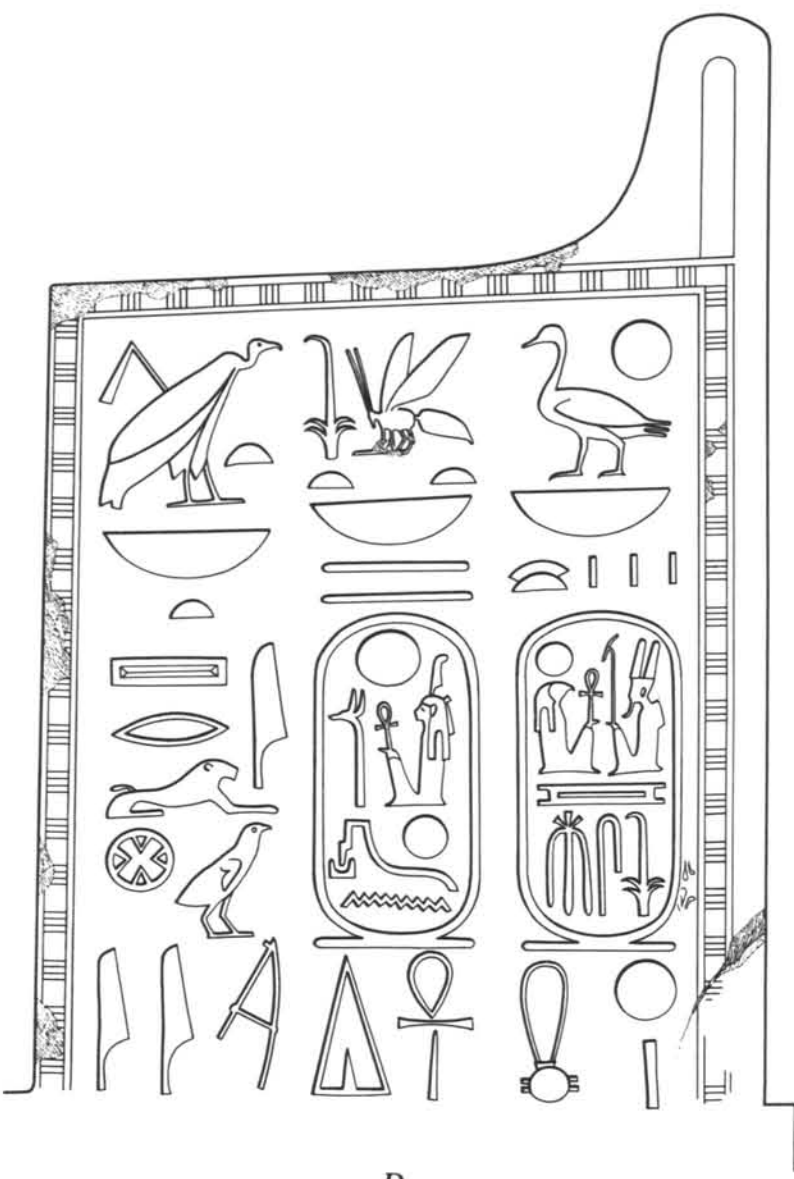
A



B



C



D



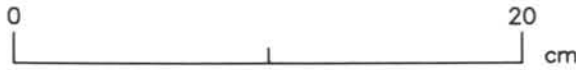
E



F



G



H

Photographs by Johnson and Kobylecky
Drawings by Osgood and De Jong

DETAILS OF THE LARGE DYAD



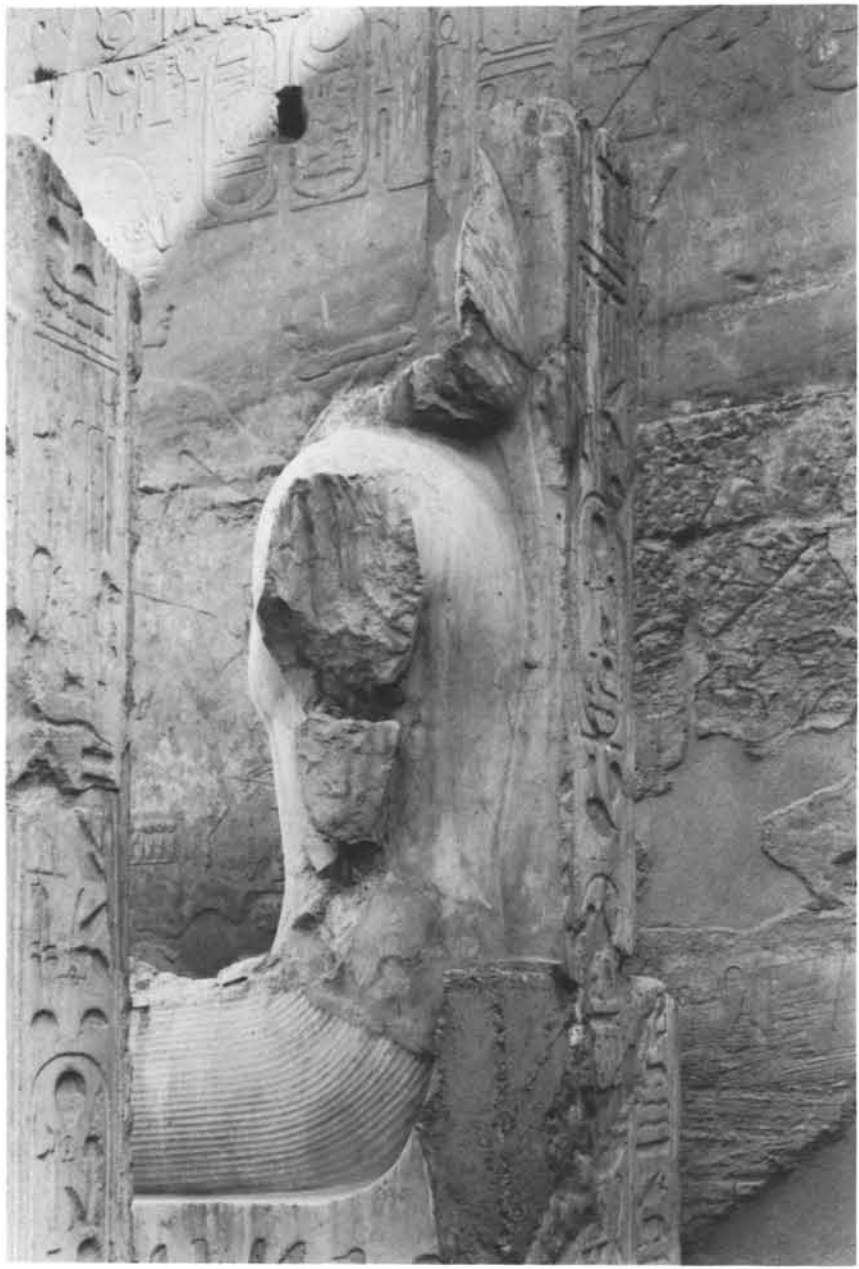
A



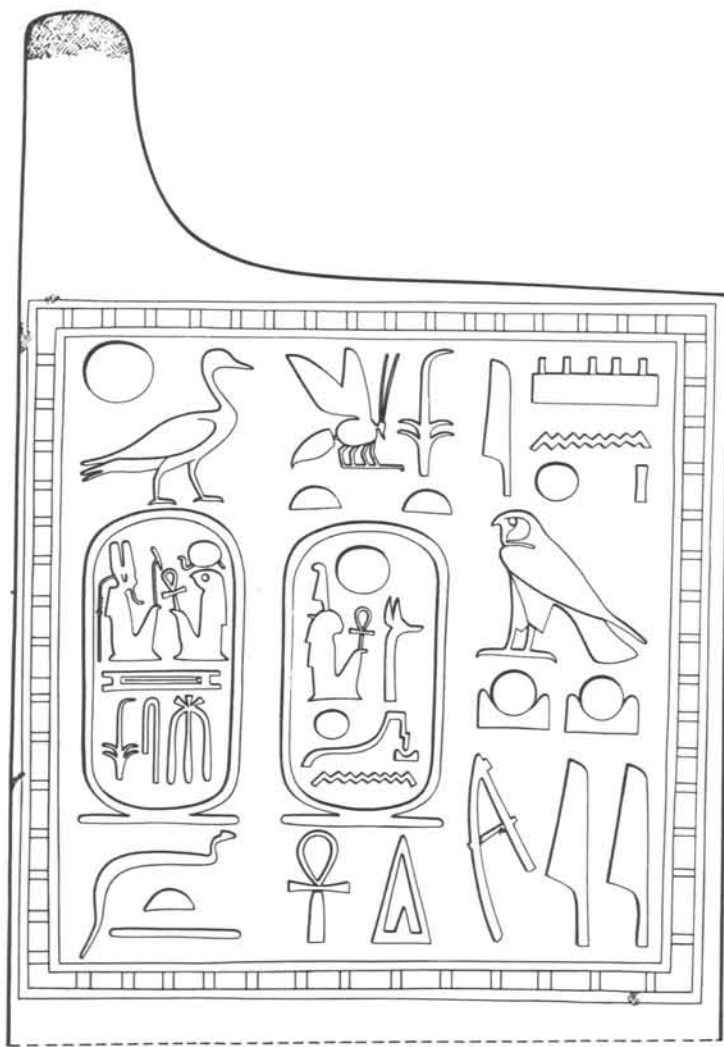
B



C



D



E

Photographs by Kobylecky
Drawings by Di Cerbo



F



G

THE STATUE OF THE SEATED KING (A-I) AND THE SMALL DYAD OF AMUN AND MUT (B)



H



I

*A**B**C**D**E**F*

Photographs by Kobylecky

FRAGMENTS FROM THE STATUE OF THE SEATED KING
 A-C. FRAGMENT OF THE FACE: VIEWS OF THE LEFT SIDE, THE FRONT, AND THE RIGHT SIDE
 D-F. FRAGMENT OF THE LEFT FOREARM: VIEWS OF THE TOP, THE SIDE, AND THE BOTTOM



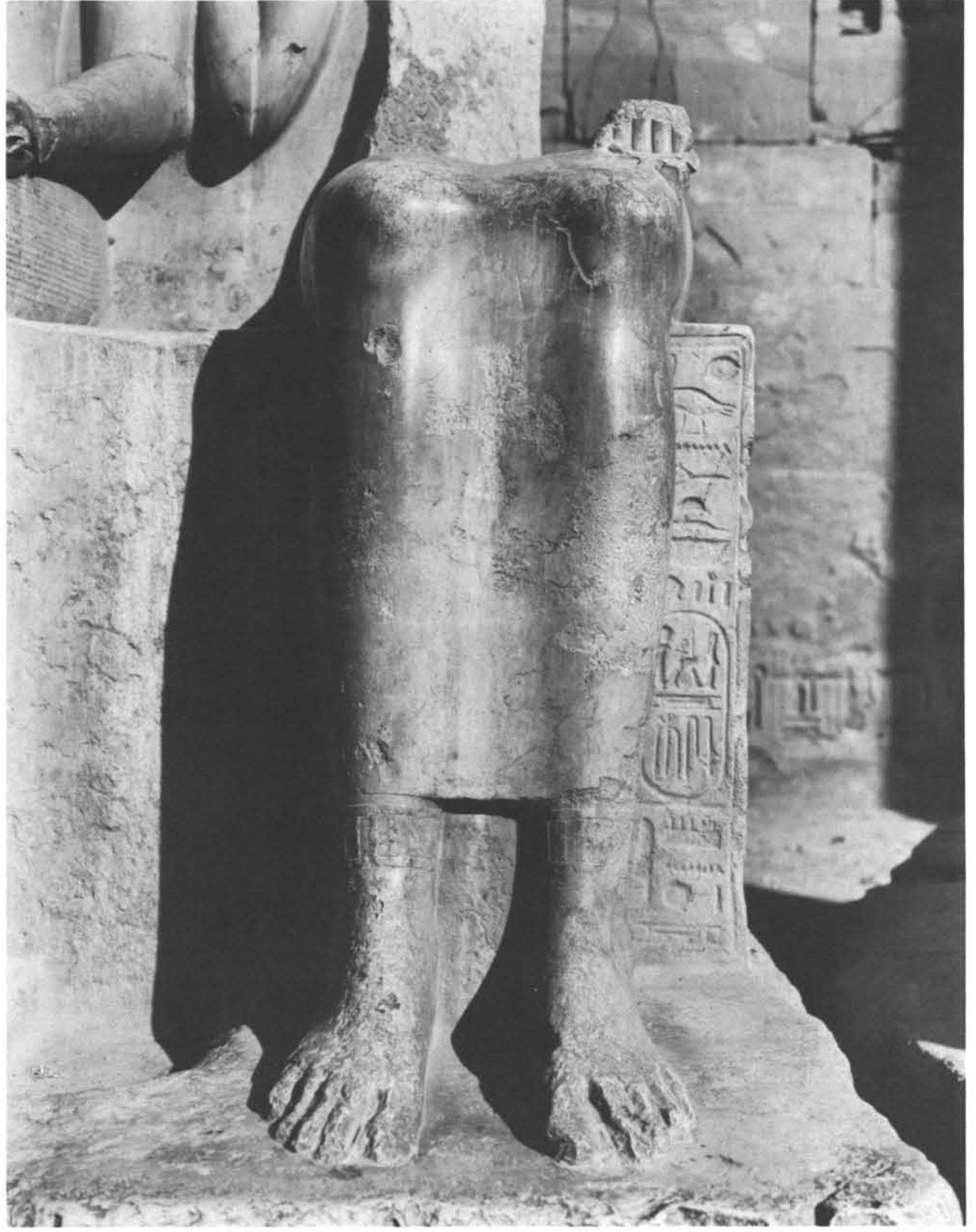
A



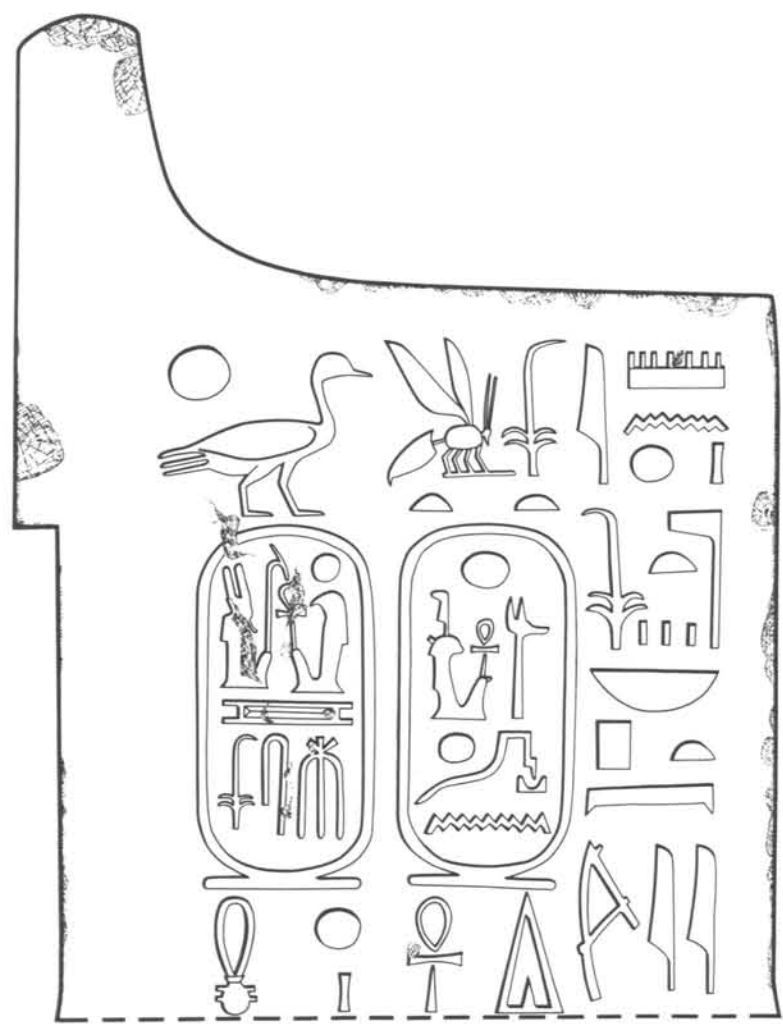
B



C



D



E

Photographs by Kobylecky and Krause
Drawings by Heide



F

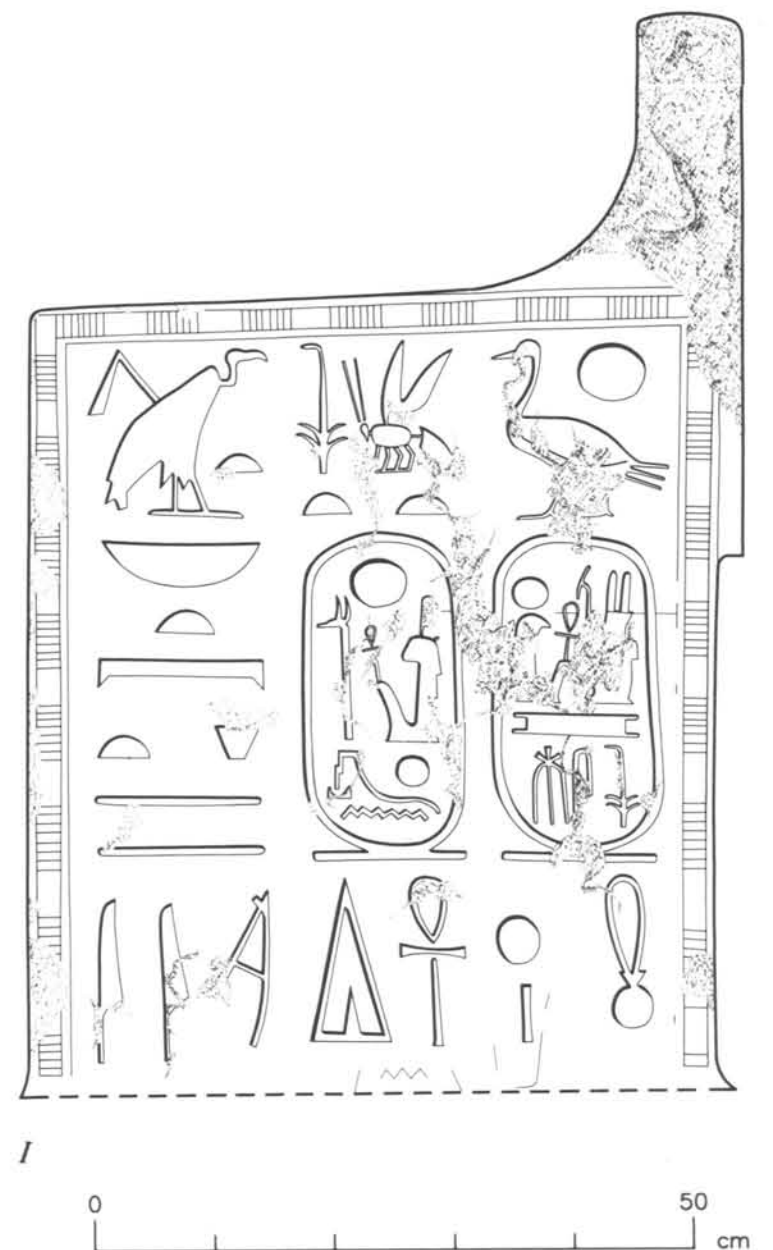


G

THE SMALL DYAD OF AMUN AND MUT



H



I



A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H



I



J

Photographs by Kobylecky

DETAILS OF THE HEAD OF AMUN (A-E) AND THE HEAD OF MUT, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM CAIRO CG 919A (F-J),
FROM THE SMALL DYAD



A



B



C



D



E



F



G

Photographs by Kobylecky

DETAILS OF THE HEAD AND TORSO FRAGMENTS OF MUT, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM CAIRO CG 919A AND B,
FROM THE SMALL DYAD



Photographs by Kobylecky

A



B

THE LUXOR MUSEUM DYAD J833



A



B



Photographs by E. Krause

C



D

A. DETAIL OF THE CARTOUCHE OF HOREMHEB
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 149)

B. DETAIL OF AMENHOTEP III
NORTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 149)

C. DETAIL OF TUTANKHAMUN
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 167)

D. DETAIL OF TUTANKHAMUN
NORTH PORTAL, SOUTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 161)



Photographs by Kobylecky and Van Eynde



A. THE EAST THICKNESS OF THE NORTH PORTAL

B. DETAIL OF THE MARGINAL INSCRIPTION OF MERNEPTAH, USURPED BY RAMESSES IV,
WITH THE ALTERNATING PRENOMENS AND NOMENS OF RAMESSES IV BELOW
EAST INTERIOR WALL, CENTRAL SECTION



A



B



C



D

Photographs by Kobylecky and E. Krause



E

A. DETAIL OF THE PTOLEMAIC RECARVING OF THE FIGURE OF AMENHOTEP III
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, EAST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 174A)

B. DETAIL OF THE RESTORED FIGURE OF AMUN
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 176A)

C. DETAIL OF THE FIGURE OF AMENHOTEP III
SOUTH PORTAL, NORTH FACE, WEST JAMB, FIRST REGISTER (SEE PL. 176A)

D. THE EAST JAMB OF THE SUBSIDIARY GATEWAY OF THE SOUTH PORTAL

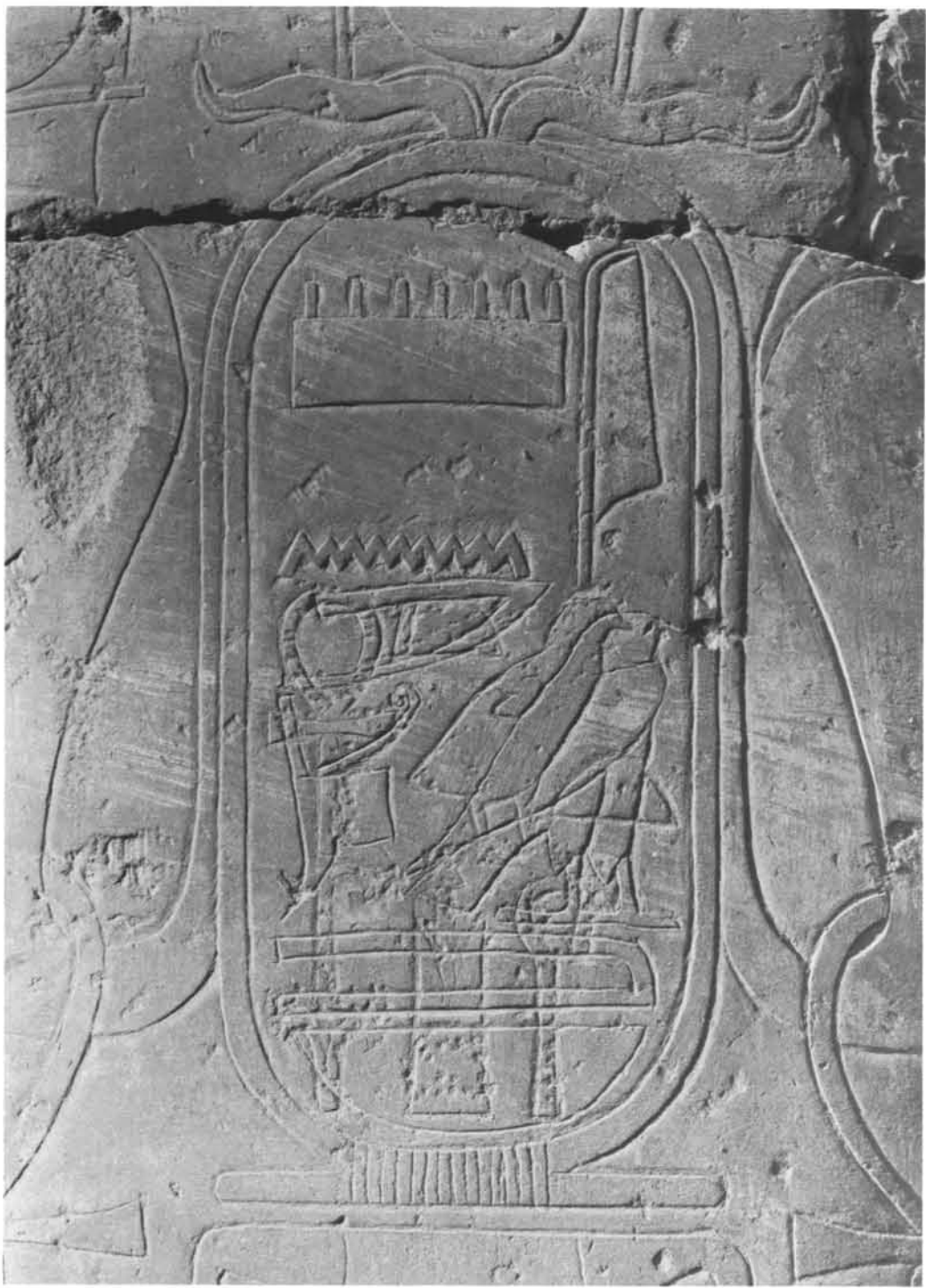
E. THE WEST JAMB OF THE SUBSIDIARY GATEWAY OF THE SOUTH PORTAL



A



B



C



D



E

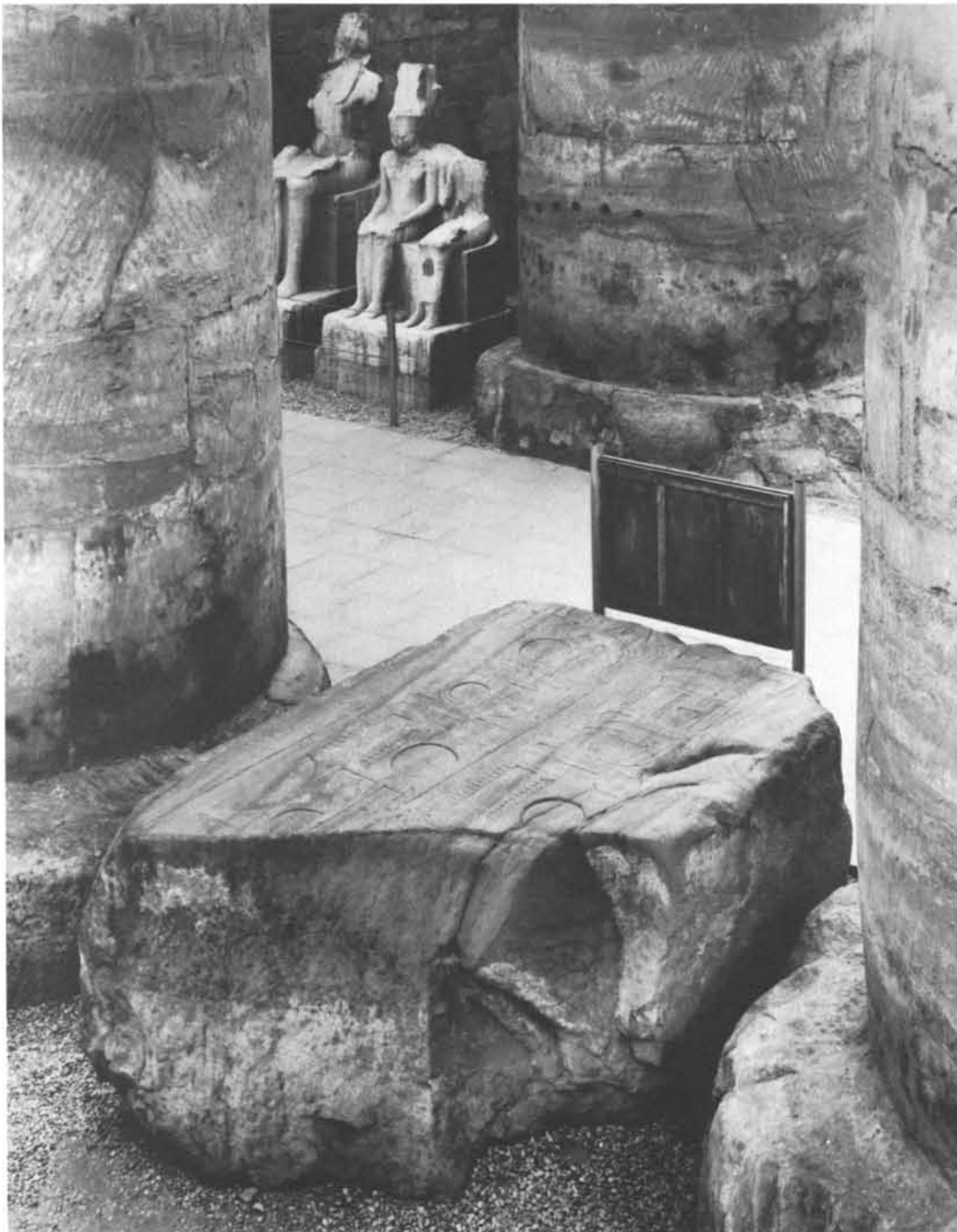
Photographs by E. Krause



F

- A. DETAIL OF THE INTACT PRENOMEN OF TUTANKHAMUN
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 9 (SEE PL. 188)
- B. DETAIL OF THE PRENOMEN OF TUTANKHAMUN USURPED BY HOREMHEB, SHOWING A CORRECTION
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 7 (SEE PL. 186)
- C. DETAIL OF THE NOMEN OF TUTANKHAMUN USURPED BY HOREMHEB
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 7 (SEE PL. 186)
- D. DETAIL OF THE PRENOMEN AND NOMEN OF AY USURPED BY HOREMHEB
FACADE, EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER (SEE PL. 134)
- E. DETAIL OF THE SPORRAN OF THE KING SHOWING THE INTACT PRENOMEN OF TUTANKHAMUN
OFFERING SCENE ON COLUMN 2 (SEE PL. 181)
- F. DETAIL OF THE SETY I NAME FRIEZE FROM COLUMN 11

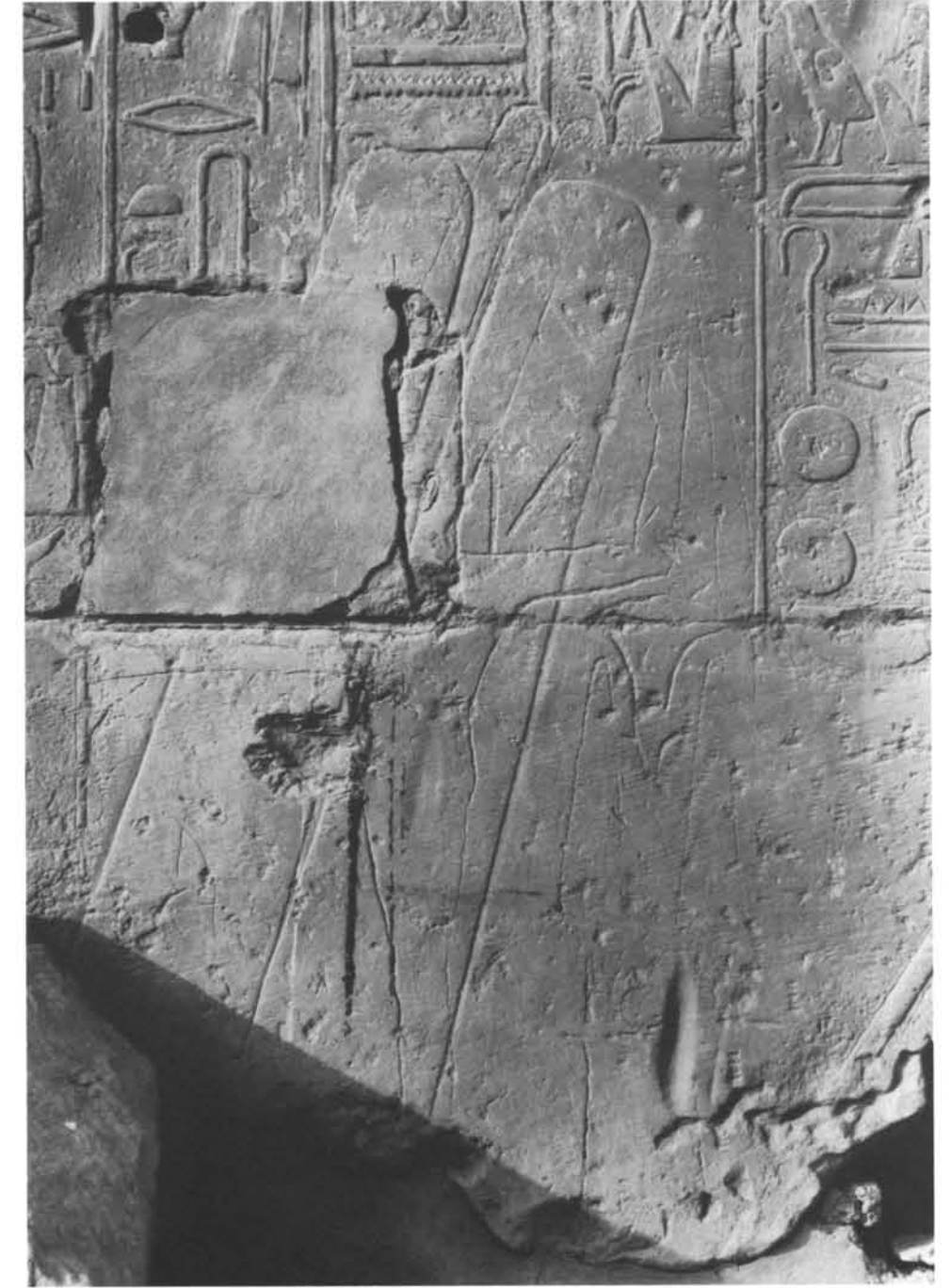
A



B



C



Photographs by Kobylecky and E. Krause

A. THE FALLEN PORTION OF THE WEST ARCHITRAVE, LYING BETWEEN COLUMNS 2 AND 4

B. DETAIL OF THE PAINTED DECORATION ON THE CAPITAL OF COLUMN 8

C. DETAIL OF THE GRAFFITO OF AN ITHYPHALLIC AMUN
FACADE, EAST WALL, SECOND REGISTER (SEE PL. 134)